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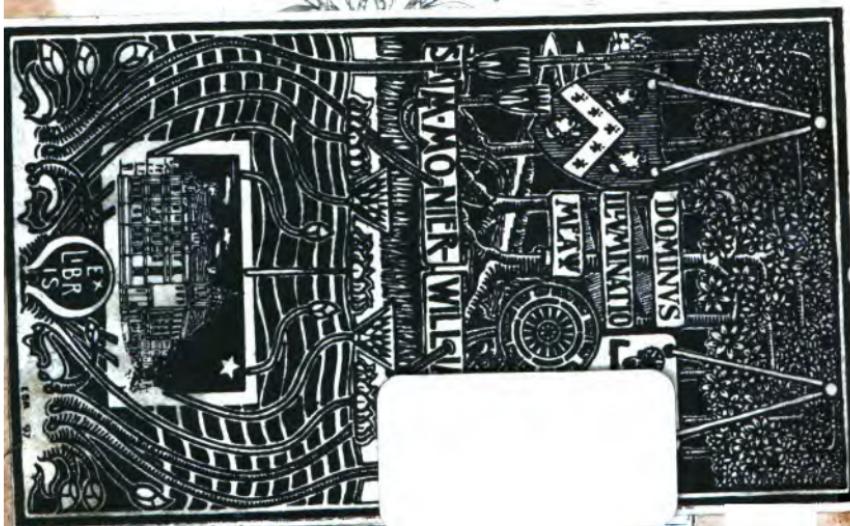
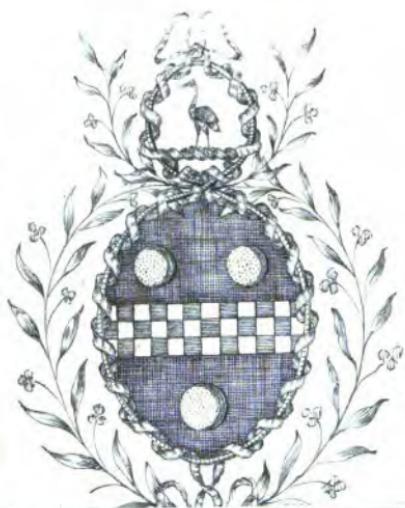
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# A R R I A N'S H I S T O R Y O F *Alexander's Expedition.*

Translated from the G R E E K.

W I T H

NOTES *Historical, Geographical, and Critical.*

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By Mr. R O O K E.

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V O L. II.

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To which is added,

|   |   |
|---|---|
| I. <i>Arrian's Indian History.</i>                                      | IV. A Catalogue of all the Authors who have wrote this History. |
| II. His Account of the Division of the Empire, after Alexander's Death. | V. A brief Chronology.  |
| III. <i>Raderus's Tables.</i>   | VI. A compleat Index.   |

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L O N D O N,

Printed for T. WORRALL, at the *Judge's Head* in *Fleetstreet*; J. GRAY, at the *Cross Keys* in the *Poultry*; L. GILLIVER, at *Homer's Head* in *Fleetstreet*; and R. WILLOCK, at Sir Isaac Newton's *Head* in *Cornbill*. M DCCXXIX.





# A R R I A N ' S *History*

## O F

# A L E X A N D E R ' S *Expedition.*

## BOOK V.

### C H A P. I.



ALEXANDER then entered that part of the Country which lies between the two Rivers *Cophenes* and *Indus*, where *Nysa* is said to be situate. This City was built by <sup>1</sup> *Diomysus* or *Bacchus*, when he conquered the *Indians*: but who this *Bacchus* was, and at what time, or from whence he set forth against those *Indians*, is hard to determine. Whether he was that *Theban*, who, from

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 10, 12.* That the “ Inhabitants affirm'd, *Bacchus* to be the Founder of their City; and he indeed built it at the Foot of Mount *Meros*: from the Name of which *Mηρός*, *Femur*,

from *Thebes*, or he who from *Tmolus*, a Mountain of *Lydia*, undertook that famous Expedition into *India*, and when he had pass'd through so many warlike Nations, then unknown to the *Greeks*, reduc'd none of them all by Force, but *India*, is very uncertain: only this I may venture to say, That those things which the Ancients have published, in their Fables, concerning the Gods, ought not to be too narrowly search'd into; for, whenever the Truth of any Story seem'd liable to be call'd in Question, some God was immediately summon'd to their Aid, and then all was plain, and easily swallow'd. As soon as *Alexander* arriv'd at *Nyla*, with his Army, the Citizens sent *Aculphis*, with thirty of their chief Men, to him, to beseech him to leave the Liberties of their City entire, for the Sake of their God. The Ambassadors being introduc'd into

“ *Femur*, a Thigh; the *Grecians* feign'd, that *Bacchus* was shut up  
 “ in the Thigh of *Jupiter*, because he was brought up on this  
 “ Mountain.”—I love an Author dearly who goes thorough-stitch  
 with his Work, and does not stumble at Straws. *Arrian* has touch'd  
 this Matter tenderly, and when he comes to confute it afterwards,  
 chuses rather to do it in another's Words than his own: but *Curtius*  
 tells us, point-blank, it is every Tittle true. To prove the Truth  
 thereof, we need only ask, whether this *Bacchus* was an Eastern or  
 Western Deity? If he was an *Indian* God, how came he by his  
 Name? *Dionysus* and *Bacchus* are *Greek* Names, and could never  
 belong originally to a God of that Country. If he was a *Greek*  
 Deity, how came he into *India*? no *Grecian* having ever travelled  
 so far, before *Alexander's* Time. Besides, how came he to be so  
 well known there, and to conquer *India* alone, and never to be so  
 much as heard of in all the Countries through which he must have  
 march'd with his Army, from *Greece* thither. The Name *Meros*,  
 which was given to the Mountain, is likewise a *Greek* Word, and  
*Curtius* is vastly mistaken in saying, the *Greeks* derived the Fable of  
*Bacchus*'s Birth out of *Jupiter*'s Thigh, from the Name of that  
 Mountain, it being evident that the Name of the Mountain (if it  
 ever had such a Name, for *Sidonius* and *Philostratus* deny it) was  
 contriv'd on purpose to quadrate with the known *Greek* Fable of *Bacchus* the Son of *Semele*; and the whole Story was undoubtedly  
 hatch'd by the lying *Greeks*, with no other View than only to set  
*Alexander* above *Bacchus*, as they had already done above *Hercules*.

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the Royal Pavilion, saw the King all besmeard with Dust and Sweat, sitting in compleat Armour, for he had not yet put them off, his Helmet was yet on his Head, and his Lance in his Hand ; at which Sight they were dreadfully terrified, and, falling prostrate, observ'd a long Silence : but when *Alexander* condescended to bid them rise up, and be of good cheer, <sup>2</sup> *Aculpis* thus accosted him, " The *Nysæans* intreat thee,

" O King, for the Reverence thou bearest to *Dionysus*, their God, to leave their City untouched, and  
 " not to infringe their Customs and Liberties. For  
 " *Bacchus* having subdued the *Indians*, and determin-  
 " ing to return to *Greece*, as an eternal Monument  
 " of the Toils he underwent, and the Victories he  
 " acquired, built this City for a Habitation for such  
 " of his Soldiers, as Age or Accidents had rendered  
 " unfit for further military Service, in the same  
 " Manner as thou hast rais'd *Alexandria* nigh Mount  
 " *Caucasus*, and another City of the same Name in  
 " *Egypt*, besides others which thou hast and will  
 " hereafter build in different Parts of the Earth, to  
 " the Glory of thy Name ; for thou hast already  
 " achiev'd higher and greater Things than *Bacchus*.  
 " He call'd this City *Nysa*, after the Name of his  
 " Nurse, and the Province depending thereupon, the  
 " *Nysæan* Territories. The Mountain also which is  
 " so near us, he would have denominated *Meros*, or  
 " the Thigh, alluding to (the Fable of) his Birth from  
 " that of *Jupiter*. From that Time, we, the Inhabi-  
 " tants of *Nysa*, have been a free People, and liv'd  
 " peaceably under the Protection of our own Laws :  
 " And as an undoubted Token that this Place was  
 " founded by *Bacchus*, the Ivy, which is to be found

<sup>2</sup> The Speech of *Aculpis* here, has been contriv'd on purpose by the Flatterers of *Alexander*. The Forgery betrays itself at the first Blush, and it were Time ill-spent, to pretend to prove it not genuine. Besides, this has been already done in the Criticism prefix'd to this Work.

“ no where else, throughout all *India*, flourishes in  
“ our Territories.”



## C H A P. II.

THIS Oration was very grateful to *Alexander*, who had a mighty mind that the Story of *Bacchus* and his Travels should pass for Truth, and that he might be deem'd the Founder of *Nysa*, that himself might be believ'd, already to have reach'd the utmost Limits of *Bacchus*'s Journey, and yet still to be advancing forwards. And he imagined that the *Macedonians* would be easily perswaded to join with him herein, and boldly undertake fresh Adventures, after the laudable Example of *Bacchus* and his Followers; for which Reason he granted the Citizens of *Nysa* the Priviledge of being governed by their ancient Laws, and a full Confirmation of their Liberties. And when he came, afterwards, to know the Tenor of their Laws, and that their Republick was governed by the chief Citizens, he commended the Institution, and ordered, that three Hundred choice Horse should be sent him, besides one Hundred of those principal Citizens, who had the Administration of Affairs in their Hands; (their whole Number being three Hundred) *Aculphis* himself was one of those who were chosen out of the Magistracy, and him he appointed a President of the Province. At these Demands of

*Alexan-*

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<sup>1</sup> There is no room to doubt, but a Speech like that, must be grateful to him; for he was either the Contriver of it himself, or it was done for his Sake; and what Priviledges the Citizens had given them afterwards, were granted, that his Followers might believe the Truth of what his Flatterers had affered.

<sup>2</sup> At the same time that *Alexander* was commanding their Laws and Constitutions, and pretending to leave them unisfring'd, he was

*Alexander, Aculphis* is said to have smil'd, and being ask'd the Reason, made this Answer. " After what manner, O King, should a City be afterwards well governed, when she is deprived of an Hundred of her chief Councillors? If thou hast the Welfare of the *Nysæans* at Heart, take three Hundred Horse, or more, if it be thy Pleasure; but if for one Hundred of the best Citizens, thou wilt condescend to accept of two Hundred of the worst, thou may'st, at thy return hither, expect to find this City in a flourishing Condition." This Speech being excellently adapted for the purpose, satisfied *Alexander*, insomuch, that he ordered the three Hundred Horse to be sent him, but freely gave up his former Demand of the hundred Magistrates, without requiring any Equivalent. However *Aculphis* sent his Son, and his Nephew with him, to learn the Art of War. <sup>3</sup> *Alexander* had then an ambition of visiting the Place where

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was breaking-in upon them himself, as fast as he could. If he assum'd any Authority over them, it was a Breach of their ancient Priviledges. If not, why did he impose *Aculphis*, as Chief over the Province, when the City, with its Dependencies, was, before that time, governed by a Council of Three Hundred?

<sup>3</sup> *Curtius* affirms, *lib. viii. cap. 10, 7.* " That *Alexander* besieg'd this Place, and his Soldiers felt such excessive cold Weather, during the Siege thereof, as they had never felt before." -- That was strange! They had been so cold before, if we will take his own Word for it, *lib. vii. cap. 3, 13.* " That some lost the Use of their Hands, others of their Feet; some were blinded and others kill'd out-right." -- But the strangest Thing of all is, how those very Soldiers could pretend to complain of such intense cold Weather here, when they felt it so excessive hot in *Sogdia*, *lib. vii. cap. 5, 3.* " That their natural Moisture was in a manner dry'd up, and the Sand, by reason of the Sun's lying continually upon it, scorch'd like Fire itself." -- Every body knows, and they could not be ignorant, that *Alexander* had been marching Southward all the Way from *Sogdia*: and how a Place about the 34th or 35th Degree of Latitude, should be so intensely Cold, and another at least ten Degrees further Northward, so excessive Hot, I cannot easily determine. Some of my Readers may perhaps make Answer, that it might be Summer when he was in

the *Nysaeans* boast of some Monuments of *Bacchus*, and of ascending Mount *Meros*, with his auxiliary Horse, and a Squadron of his Foot, that he might see a Hill overspread with Laurel and Ivy, and thick Groves of all sorts of Trees, well stock'd with all Kinds of wild Beasts. The sight of Ivy was pleasing to the *Macedonians*, they not having seen any in a long Time (for no parts of *India* produce it, nor even those where Vines are common) wherefore they immediately apply'd themselves to making Garlands, wherewith they crown'd their Heads, singing, and calling loud upon the God, not only by the Name of *Dionysus*, but by all his other Names. *Alexander* there offered Sacrifices to *Bacchus*, and feasted with his Friends; and some Authors relate (if their Relations deserve Credit) that many *Macedonians* of the first Rank, during the Banquet, having their Brows encircled with Ivy, and feiz'd with a sort of enthusiastick Raptures, run about with loud and long continued Acclamations of *4 Evoe* and *Bacche*: But these, and such like Stories, I leave for every one to receive, or reject, as he thinks convenient.

## C H A P.

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*Sogdia*, and Winter here. Whether it was Summer when he was in *Sogdia*, is hardly worth disputing; but that it was Summer now is evident, by the Soldiers gathering Vine-leaves, to make themselves Garlands, as he tells us in the very same Chapter, *lib. viii. cap. 10, 15*.—I am sure our European Vines drop their Leaves in the Winter. *Arrian* talks nothing of Vine-leaves, but only of Ivy, the Leaves of which may be had at any time of the Year.

4. This *Curtius* affirms for certain Truth, and not only so, but tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 10, 18*. “ That they got drunk; and for his Part, he wonders why the Citizens did not fall upon them, “ when they were in such Disorder”. He had before acquainted us, that the City was taken by a long Siege. But he is therein contradicted by *Arrian*, who assures us, that some of the chief Citizens went out to meet *Alexander*, and congratulate him; and if so, the *Macedonians* might get drunk freely, and fall asleep as safely as if they had been in their own Country. Tho', after all, *Phlegon*, *lib. xi. cap. 4*, denies that *Alexander* ascended this Mountain,

## C H A P. III.

**E**RATOSTHÈNES, the *Cyrenian*, reports, (but I cannot altogether agree with him therein) that whatever Honours were ascribed to that Deity, by the *Macedonians*, and whatever joyful Acclamations were made, all was done for the sake of their King, to put him upon a Level with these Gods themselves. He also adds, that the *Macedonians* found a certain Cave upon a Mountain in the Country of *Paropamisus*, which the Inhabitants, by Tradition (or rather themselves, to curry Favour with their Prince) affirm'd to be that, wherein *Prometheus* was formerly chain'd, and that an Eagle usually came thither to prey upon his Liver; but at last, *Hercules* passing through that Country, slew the Eagle, and releas'd him from his Imprisonment. He proceeds to tell us, that they transfer'd Mount *Caucasus*, in their Speeches, from *Pontus*, to the most Easterly Parts of the Earth, and the Country of *Paropamisus* to *India*; and call'd *Paropamisus*; *Caucasus*, for no other Reason but to enhance the Glory of *Alexander*, who had now passed beyond it; and when they accidentally saw some Oxen in that Part of *India*, mark'd with a Brand in the form of a Club, they immediately concluded, from that Cir-

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tain, notwithstanding he vehemently desired it; for he says, " Hé  
 " was afraid, that if his Soldiers once saw Vines, which they had  
 " not seen for a great while; it would bring such a lively Idea of  
 " their native Country into their Minds, that they would long  
 " to return Home: And if they were once suffered to taste Wine, it  
 " would be a difficult Matter to perswade them to drink Water  
 " again; for which Reasons he encamped at the Foot of the  
 " Mountain, and refused to ascend."

cumstance, that *Hercules* had penetrated thus far. The same Author asserts the like Stories of *Dianysus*, which I shall omit, as hardly worth the relating. When *Alexander* arriv'd at the River *Indus*, he found the Bridge fully perfected by *Hephæstion*, and two large Vessels, built with Thirty Oars, besides many more small Ones. He also receiv'd the Presents of *Taxiles* the *Indian*, being Two Hundred Talents of Silver, Three Thousand Oxen, above Ten Thousand Sheep, and Thirty Elephants; Seven Hundred *Indian* Horse were sent to his Assistance by that Prince, who also made him a surrender of his Capital, the largest, and most populous of all the Cities between the Rivers *Indus* and *Hydaspes*. *Alexander* there sacrificed to the Gods, after the Custom of his Country; and having exhibited gymnick and equestrian Sports, on the Banks of that River, the Entrails promised him a safe <sup>2</sup> Passage over. The *Indus* is the largest of all the Rivers of *Europe*, or *Asia*, except the *Ganges*, which is also in *India*: It receives its Rise from the Skirts of Mount *Parapamisus*, or *Caucasus*, and discharges its Waters Southwards, into the *Indian*-Ocean. It has two Mouths in a low marshy Soil, like those five of the *Ister*; and it

1. *Curtius* tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 12.* that this *Taxiles*, or *Ompbis*, presented *Alexander* with 56 Elephants. *Arrian* has, indeed, acquainted us, that *Taxiles* promised him 25 Elephants before (*See Book iv. cap. 22.*) and that they were for himself and Neighbour Princes, and now, he tells us, he presented him with Thirty. Now, says *Tellier*, allowing these 30 to before himself, and the 25 for the other Princes, the Number will be pretty near that in *Curtius*. What strange conjuring Creatures these Commentators are! But then if we deny his Supposition, all is wrong, and *Curtius* and *Arrian* are irreconcileable.

2. It was their best Way. The Priest, or Sacrificer could make them speak what he would; and the General, as has been already shew'd, could make the Priest speak what he would; and therefore it is no Wonder that the poor Soldiers were gull'd, when both Gods and Men conspir'd to carry on the Cheat.

forms the Figure of the Greek Letter  $\Delta$  *Delta*, by its Course through *India*, as the *Nile* does in his Passage through *Egypt*; which Island is, in the *Indian* Language, call'd *Pattala*.

## C H A P. IV.

THESE Things I have written concerning the River *Indus*, of the Truth of which I have no doubt: For not only *Hydaspes* and *Acesines*, but *Hydrates* and *Hypbasis* are *Indian* Rivers, and exceed all the other Rivers of *Asia* in bigness, but they are as much less than *Indus*, as that River is less than *Ganges*. *Ctesias* indeed (if his Authority could be depended upon) affirms, that *Indus*, where its Channel is narrowest, is forty Furlongs wide, and where it is broadest, about an Hundred. *Alexander* pass'd over this River with his Army about break of Day, and enter'd *India*; concerning which, I have neither thought it convenient to stuff this History with an Account of what Laws they are govern'd by, nor what strange Animals the Country produces; neither how many kinds of Fish, nor of what bigness, either *Indus*, or *Hydaspes*, or *Ganges*, or other Rivers of *India* nourish; nor shall I make a long Detail of the Ants which are here said to dig up Gold; nor of the *Griffons* which guard it; nor of many other Things which are wrote chiefly to amuse, and seem to have little Foundation of Truth. But let the Writers<sup>1</sup> of the *Indian* Affairs impose never so gross Falshoods upon us, they imagine we will swallow them all; rather than take a Journey so far, to prove them Liars. However, *Alexander* and his Followers,

<sup>1</sup> This is most certainly true; but then they contriv'd as many Lies as they confuted, and left theirs for after Ages to swallow. found

found out the Falsity of their Assertions, in abundance of Instances; for those Parts of *India* through which he penetrated with his Army, were destitute of Gold, and their Diet was no way's delicate. But the Inhabitants were strong Built, and large Limb'd, and taller in Stature than all the rest of the *Asiaticks*, many of them being little less than five Cubits high. Their Complexion is more Swarthy than any yet known, except the *Ethiopians*, and their Skill in military Affairs far surpasses all the Inhabitants of *Asia* besides. Even those warlike *Persians*, by whose Valour *Cyrus* the Son of *Cambyses*, depriv'd the *Medes* of the Empire of *Asia*, and brought many other Nations under subjection; partly by Force, and partly by voluntary Surrender, are by no Means to be compar'd with those *Indians*. For the *Perians*, in these Times, were a poor People; their Country was mountainous, and uncultivated; and their Laws and Customs bore some resemblance to the severe *Lacedæmonian* Discipline. And as to the Overthrow they at last receiv'd in *Scythia*, I cannot certainly affirm, whether it happen'd on account of the Disadvantage of their Station, or any other Oversight of *Cyrus*; or whether those *Perians* were really inferior in military Affairs to the *Scythians*, by whom they were defeated.



## C H A P. V.

I SHALL treat of the *Indian* Affairs in a particular Book; and not only relate every Thing deserving Credit, which happen'd to *Alexander* and his Army, but also to *Nearchus*, who coasted along the *Indian-Ocean*: And lastly, I shall add the Accounts of those remote Parts, from *Megasthenes* and *Eratosthenes*; two Authors of undoubted Veracity.

I shall

I shall also there, describe the Laws and Customs of *India*, what monstrous Animals the Country produces, and the whole Coast of the Sea beyond it, with the utmost accuracy. At present I shall only touch upon those Things which were immediately achiev'd by *Alexander* and his Army. Mount <sup>1</sup> *Taurus*, which extends itself in length throughout all *Asia*, has its beginning from *Mycale*, a Hill opposite to the Isle of *Sams*; afterwards, dividing *Pamphylia* and *Cilicia*, it runs into *Armenia*, and thence into *Media*, not far from the Confines of the *Parthians*, and *Chorasmii*; and in the Country of *Bastria*, joins to Mount *Paropamisus*, which the *Macedonians*, who accompanied *Alexander*, named <sup>2</sup> *Caucasus*, with a design

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* is undoubtedly mistaken in his Description of this Mountain, as well as *Caucasus*. He says, *lib. vii. cap. 3. 19.* "That " *Alexander's* Soldiers came to Mount *Caucasus*, whose high Back " divides *Asia*, by one continued Ridge. — If this be understood of *Paropamisus*, or the *Indian* *Caucasus*, the Description is false; for it does not divide *Asia*. And if it be to be understood of the *Pontick*, or true *Caucasus*, it is also false; for *Alexander* was not then near it. — Then he proceeds, " *Taurus* is the next " in bigness, and joins to *Caucasus*; it rises in *Cappadocia*, passes " by *Cilicia*, and joins with the Mountains of *Armenia*. From " those Mountains almost all the Rivers of *Asia* flow: Some into " the *Red Sea*; some into the *Caspian*; others into the *Hyrcanian* " and *Pontick* *Ocean*. — *Strabo* and *Dionysius* assure us, that *Taurus* rises between *Lycia* and *Caria*, on the Continent opposite to the Isle of *Rhodes*. *Ptolemy*, on the Coast of *Pamphylia*, near *Phaselis*. *Mela*, at *Sides*, a Village in *Pamphylia*, over-against *Cilicia*; and no Body but *Curtius* talks of its Rise in *Cappadocia*. Then, as to the Rivers, those which run into the *Pontick* *Ocean*, cannot owe their Rise to the *Indian*, but to the *Scythian* *Caucasus*. And whereas he intimates, that some Rivers flow into the *Caspian*, and others into the *Hyrcanian* *Sea*, *lib. vii. cap. 3. 21.* He would have done well, had he shew'd us how far those two Seas were distant from each other; all Mankind, besides himself, owning them to be the same.

<sup>2</sup> *Strabo*, in the Eleventh Book of his Geography, *page 771. Ed. Casaub.* assures us, " That *Alexander's* Followers transfer'd Mount " *Caucasus* out of *Scythia* into *India*, which was above thirty Thou- " sand *Stadia* (or 3750 English Miles) distant from its true Situation,

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a design (as it is reported) of enhancing their General's Glory; as tho' he had pass'd beyond that Mountain, in one continu'd Course of Victory. It may, perhaps, be true, that this Mountain may join with the other *Caucasus* in *Scythia*, as *Taurus* does with this; for which Reason I have already called it by that Name, and shall hereafter continue so to do. This Mountain reaches Eastward as far as the *Indian Ocean*. All the most famous Rivers in *Asia*, owe their Rife to Mount *Taurus* and *Caucasus*; and many of them flow Northward; some into the *Palus Meotis*; some into the *Hyrcanian Sea*: Others direct their Course Southerly, namely, *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Indus*, *Hydaspes*, *Acesines*, *Hydrootes*, *Hyphasis*, and all those which discharge their Waters into the Ocean on this side the *Ganges*; or which lose themselves by some secret and subterraneous Passage; or among the Marshes, like the 3 *Euphrates*.

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—The same Prank they also play'd with the River *Jaxyrtus*, which they call'd *Tanais*.—This Confusion of the Names of Mountains and Rivers, was the occasion of an infinite Number of Errors in Geography afterwards, the Writers ascribing those Things to one Mountain, or River, which were really applicable to another. Thus, what *Curtius* tells us of *Alexander's* March over *Caucasus*, the height of the Rock, and the City *Alexandria*, appertain to the *Indian Caucasus*, or *Parapamisus*. But his Stories of the River *Araxes* and *Ciltia*, and the Mountains of *Armenia*; the Pontick Sea, the Desarts of *Scythia*, and *Prometheus*, being chain'd to a Rock, belong properly to the *Scythian*, or antient and true *Caucasus*.

3 This must undoubtedly be meant of that mighty Royal Dren, or Canal, call'd *Pallocopas*, which was cut to carry off the superfluous Water of the River *Euphrates*, for fear it should overflow its Banks, and drown the flat Countries on each side. It either loses its Waters in the Marshes of *Arabia*, or enters the *Arabian Gulph*, by some secret, or subterraneous Passage. But as to the *Euphrates* itself, or the main Stream, *Nearibus* with his whole Fleet, enter'd the Mouth thereof, when he sail'd up to *Babylon*, to meet *Alexander*. See *Arrian*, lib. vii. cap. 19.

## C H A P. VI.

SEEING therefore the Situation of *Asia* is such, that *Taurus* and *Caucasus* run through it, from West to East; it thence happens, that all *Asia* is divided by these Mountains into two Parts, one towards the South, the other Northwards; moreover, that South Part is also separated into four Divisions; the chief of which is that of *India*, according to *Eratosthenes* and *Megasthenes* (who assures us, that while he entertain'd a Converse with *Sibyrtius*, Governor of the *Arachosia*, he frequently visited <sup>1</sup> *Sandracottus* King of *India*) the least, is that which *Euphrates* divides, and which borders upon our Sea. The other two lying between the Rivers *Indus* and *Euphrates*, are scarce worthy to be compared to *India*, if they were join'd together. <sup>2</sup> *India* is bounded, on the East and South Sides, by the Ocean; Northwards

<sup>1</sup> Strabo call'd him *Sadracottus*, tho' *Causabon's* Edition agrees with *Arrian*, vid. p. 1035. Some Editions of *Arrian*, *Sandracontus*, and I am mistaken if *Plutarch* do not mean the same by his *Andracottus*. *Pag. 38. Edit. Steph.*

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius*, who is the blindest Geographer that ever wrote, has given us the lamest Description of *India* that ever was read. " *India*, says he, *Ib. viii. cap. 9. 1.* lies towards the East. — That it does, sure enough, and towards the West too, in respect to one Place or another. — Then he proceeds — " Its Breadth is less than its Length. — Who doubts that? So is every Country besides, if it be not a Circle, or a Square. — " The Southern Parts thereof are High and Mountainous, the others Champain, and water'd by many Rivers issuing from Mount *Caucasus*. — Now this is every Tittle false; for the Northern Parts are Mountainous, *Parapamisus* and *Taurus* being their North Boundaries. But that the Southern Parts are at least lower, is apparent, because the Rivers *Indus*, *Acesines*, *Hydaspes*, &c. all direct their Course that Way. — He immediately after adds a mad Description of *Ganges*, and a false one of *Acesines*, which I shall examine elsewhere.

by Mount *Caucasus*, even to the Confines of *Taurus* ; and Westward, even to the Ocean, by the River *Indus*. The greatest Part of this Country is Level and Champain, which is occasion'd chiefly (as some suppose) by the Rivers there, washing down quantities of Mud, during the time of their Overflowings, in the same Manner as it happens in other flat Countries bordering upon the Sea ; insomuch, that many of them have borrow'd their very Names from the Rivers which pass through them. As a certain District in *Asia* is call'd *Campus Hermit*, because the River *Hermus*, rising from Mount *Dindymene*, flows through it to *Smyrna*, a City of *Aeolia*, and thence to the Sea : Also *Campus Caystri*, from the River *Cayster*; *Campus Lydius*, from the River *Lydus*; *Campus Caici*, from the River *Caicus*; *Campus Mæandri*, in *Caria*, near *Miletus*, a City of *Ionia*, so call'd from the River *Mæander*. *Egypt* also, according to *Herodotus* and *Heccatæus* (unless these Accounts of that Country belong to any other Author besides *Heccatæus*) has been the Gift of the River, and which *Herodotus*, in particular, proves ; insomuch that the whole Country has receiv'd its Name from the River. For that this River was anciently call'd *Egyptus*, which all Nations now call the *Nile*, the Authority of *Homer* is sufficient to prove ; who says, that *Menelaus* drew up his Fleet at the Mouth of the River *Egyptus*. If therefore single Rivers, and those none of the largest, have that Faculty of fructifying the lower Grounds near the Sea, through which they pass, by the Slime and Mud which they bring down from the higher Country ; I can see no Reason why those *Indian* Streams should not do the like, seeing the greatest Part of the Country is Champain, and the Rivers there have their annual Innundations. For if <sup>3</sup> *Hermus*, and *Cayster*, and

<sup>3</sup> The greatest part of the Contents of this Chapter may be seen almost Word for Word in *Strabo*, lib. xv. pag. 1013, &c. whereby it is evident, that *Strabo* and *Arrian* copy'd from the same Authors.

*Caucus*, and *Meander*, and all the Rivers of *Asia*, which discharge themselves into the midland Sea, were put altogether, they would not be comparable, for equality of Water, to one of those *Indian* Rivers, much less to *Indus*; to which neither the *Egyptian Nile*, nor the *Europægn Ister* can stand in competition; and all these, and *Indus* together, would not be equal to *Ganges*; which being from its very Fountains, a great River receives the Waters of Fifteen of the largest in *Asia*, and retains its Name till it falls into the Sea. This, at present, shall suffice concerning *India*, the rest shall be mention'd in our *Indian History*.



## C H A P. VII.

After what Manner *Alexander* made his Bridge over the River *Indus*, neither *Ptolemy*, nor *Aristobulus* (Authors of greatest Esteem with me) give any Account; nor can I, at this Distance of Time, affirm for certain, whether it was made with Ships fasten'd together, like that of *Xerxes* over the *Hellespout*, and those a-cross the *Bosporus*, and the *Ister* by *Darius*; or whether it was one continu'd Piece of Work, resting upon Piles, driven into the Bottom of the River. To me, it seems much more probable to have been composed with <sup>1</sup> Vessels, close

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius*, according to his usual Manner of vouching every thing he says, for Truth, tells us, *lib. 8. cap. 10. 2.* "That *Alexander* dispatch'd *Hephæstion* and *Perdiccas* with a Detachment as far as *Indus*, to build a Bridge of Boats to pass the Army over." — Had *Arrian* ever peep'd into his Work, he would either have rested satisfied with his Assertions, or contradicted him. *Strabo* tells us too, that a Bridge was built, but not how, nor of what Materials: However he assures us, *lib. vi. pag. 1022*,—That it was nigh the City *Peucolaetis*.

bound together. Not that I imagine the extroardinary Depth of the River would not admit of one of the other Sort ; but because so great a Work could never have been brought to Perfection in so short a Time. But supposing it to have been built with Ships ; whether they were fasten'd to each other with Cables, and so drawn quite cross the Stream, as *Herodotus* assures us that of *Xerxes* was, or in the same Manner as the *Romans* made theirs over the *Rbine* and *Ister*, and over the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, as often as Necessity requir'd, it is impossible certainly to determine. However, the Manner of laying Bridges with Ships over large Rivers, us'd by the *Romans*, is certainly the most safe and expeditious ; and as being worthy Notice, I shall here describe it. The Vessels appointed for that Use, are launch'd into the River, on a Signal given, and the Violence of the Current, as it is reasonable to imagine, hurries them downwards ; but that being overcome by the Labour of the Rowers, they are brought, at last, to the Place assign'd, with their Heads turn'd up the Stream : Then, huge wicker Baskets fill'd with Stones, and let down from the Prows of each of them, keep them steady, notwithstanding the strength of the Current. As soon as one of these Vessels is thus fix'd, they place a second at a convenient distance from her, in the same Manner ; then they lay large Beams from one to the other, which they cover with Planks laid a-cross, and this perfects that part of the Work. Thus they proceed with all the rest of the Vessels, how-many-soever they have occasion to use : And then, at each End, are plac'd a Range of Steps joining it to the Shore, that Horses, and all Beasts of Burthen, may the more safely enter thereupon, and the more easily pass over. And these serve also as a Security to the Whole, by joining it to the Banks on each Side. After this Manner the Work is soon perfected : And notwithstanding the multitude of Hands

Hands employ'd on such a Fabrick, no Order, nor Decorum is wanting, for the Exhortation of the Overseers to some, to perform their Duty; and their Threats to others, for Neglect thereof, are no manner of Hinderance either to their receiving Orders, or the quick Execution of the whole Work.

## C H A P. VIII.

**T**HESSE sort of Bridges were in most Request among the Old Romans. But after what manner This was laid over the River *Indus*, is hard to determine, seeing <sup>1</sup> none of all those who went upon that Expedition, make any mention thereof: Nevertheless I cannot forbear thinking it was fram'd much according to the Description here given; or if any will be pleas'd to give us a better, I shall submit to his Judgment. *Alexander* having gain'd the other Side, again offer'd Sacrifices to the Gods, according to the Custom of his Country, and marching forwards arriv'd at *Taxila*, a large, wealthy City, and the most populous between *Indus* and *Hydaspes*. *Taxiles* Prince of the Place, and the *Indian* Inhabitants thereof, receiv'd him in a friendly Manner, and He, in return, added as much of the adjacent <sup>2</sup> Country to their Territories

<sup>1</sup> I wonder how *Curtius* came by this Account. *Arrian* could only speak here of those he had seen or heard. And if *Curtius* had not play'd us so many slippery Tricks before, I could be almost tempted to believe him in this Place.

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 12. 16.* " That he gave him One " Thousand Talents of Silver, with many Cups and Goblets of " Gold, besides rich *Perian* Habits, and Thirty Horses, with the " same Furniture as those he rode upon.----The Truth is, he got them easily enough, and might afford to part with them as easily. But I am rather inclin'd to give Credit to *Arrian*, who says, " He

ritories, as they requested. Thither, came Embassadors to him, from *Ambisarus*, King of the Indian Mountaineers, with his Brother, and some of his Nobles ; as also others from *Doxareus*, a Prince of that Country, with Presents. *Alexander* again sacrificed in *Taxila*, and exhibited Sports according to Custom ; and having made *Philip*, the Son of *Ma-  
chetas*, Governor of the Province, and plac'd a Gar-  
rison in the City, he left his sick Men there, for the recovery of their Health, and mov'd on towards the River *Hydaspes*, because he had receiv'd 3 Notice, that *Porus*, with all his Army, lay encamp'd on the other Side of that River, being fully resolv'd, either to intercept his Passage over, or to attack him upon his landing on that Side. *Alexander*, upon this, dispatch'd *Cænus* the Son of *Polemocrates* back to the River *Indus*, to cause those Vessels, wherewith they pass'd that River, to be taken in pieces, and convey'd to the *Hydaspes*. This was accordingly per-  
form'd, the lesser Vessels being divided into two Parts, and those of Thirty Oars into three. The Parts were

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“ made him a Present of part of his Neighbours Territories.——  
This he might do still easier than the other ; for he had not yet conquer'd them, and so they could cost him nothing. *Strabo* only assures us, *lib. xv. pag. 1022*, That the Inhabitants of that Country, with *Taxiles* their King, entertain'd *Alexander* kindly, and on that account, receiv'd more from him than they presented him with ; insomuch, that the *Macedonians* were displeas'd, and said, “ That  
“ *Alexander* could find none worthy of a Present before he pass'd  
“ the *Indus*. See also *Plutarch de vita Alex.* pag. 36 and 37.  
*Edit. Steph.*

3 If we durst venture to believe *Curtius*, all Scruples relating to this Affair might easily be removed. He tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 13. 2.*  
“ That *Alexander* dispatch'd one *Clochares* to *Porus*, who should  
“ summon him to pay him Tribute, and to meet him on the Confines  
“ of his Kingdom.” But *Porus* return'd Answer, “ That he design'd,  
“ indeed, to meet him upon his Borders, but it should be in Arms.”  
----It is great pity that most of his Vouchers are lost : It gives ill-dispos'd People a vast Liberty of judging that he contriv'd many of them himself. He has taken no notice of the Contents of the remaining Part of this Chapter.

convey'd

convey'd on Carriages to the Banks of *Hydaspes*, and there join'd together again, and launch'd into the River. He, in the mean time, with the Forces which he had brought from *Taxila*, and Five Thousand *Indians*, under the Command of *Taxiles*, and the other Princes of that Country, march'd forwards, and encamp'd upon the Banks of that River.



## C H A P. IX.

<sup>1</sup> **P**ORUS lay encamp'd on the opposite side with his whole Army, surrounded by his Elephants; who, whethersoever he perceiv'd Alexander's Navy move, immediately prepar'd to defend the Passage; and detach'd Parties to all the Places, where he knew the River was fordable, and appointed Captains over each, to obstruct the *Macedonians*, if they should attempt to cross the River.

1 The Author of that Treatise concerning Rivers, which is falsely ascrib'd to *Plutarch*, tells us a very merry Story of a Mountain which was nam'd THE ELEPHANT, upon this Occasion. " When *Alexander*, says he, had enter'd *India*, in a Hostile manner, the Inhabitants were resolv'd to meet him with an Army: " But the Elephant of *Porus*, King of that Country, being all on a sudden seiz'd with an Enthusiastick Rapture, ascended the Mountain sacred to the Sun, where he cry'd out in articulate Words, " with a humane Voice, " O King, who derivest thy Pedigree from *Gegafius*, forbear to attempt any thing against *Alexander*, for he " is a Son of *Jove*." — As true a Son of *Jove*, in all probability, as the other was of *Gegafius*; for if *Freinshemius* in his Comment to *Curtius lib. ix. cap. 2. 6. Ed. Varior.* may be credited, *Porus's* real Father was no more than a Barber. — However he goes on to acquaint us, that " When the Elephant had thus spoke, he dy'd. " *Porus* hearing this, came trembling to *Alexander*, and falling at his Feet, sued for Peace, which having obtain'd, he call'd the Mountain THE ELEPHANT in Memory of the Beast." — Here is a noble Speech: *Balaam's* Ass spoke like an Ass indeed, in comparison to this Elephant. See *Raderus's Comm. on Curt. lib. viii. cap. 13. 8.*

*Alexander* perceiving this, resolv'd to divide his Army, in the same manner, into several small Parties, to distract *Porus* in his Resolutions, and render his Efforts fruitless. Which being accordingly performed, and the several Parties dispatch'd several Ways, some were order'd to lay the Country waste in an hostile Manner ; others to seek out a Place where the River might be easily pass'd over. He also commanded vast Stores of Corn to be brought into his Camp from all the Country on this side *Hydaspes*, that *Porus* might imagine he would remain in his present Encampment, 'till the 2 Waters of the River fell away in the Winter Season, for then he might force his Way over with his Army, in spite of all Opposition. His Ships being therefore drawn this way, and that, and the Coverings of his Tents stuffed with light boyant Matter, as usual ; and the whole Bank throughly lin'd with Horse and Foot, he suffer'd *Porus* to take no Rest, and render'd him thereby wholly incapable of discerning where the Storm would fall, or how

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2 *Curtius* tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 13. 8.* That this River was full four Furlongs in breadth ; and then adds, " That the dreadful appearance of the Enemy on the opposite Bank, struck a Terror into the *Macedonians*." --- I can hardly believe, had they been so much frightened, that they would have ventured over the River so soon, in spite of all that dreadful Sight on the opposite Shore. But perhaps their Fear might make their Enemies Numbers seem larger than they were : However, after all, the *Macedonians* must have sharp Eyes to discern the bulk of the Elephants so perfectly cross a River, half an English Mile wide. Nay, by a Stratagem which *Alexander* afterwards made use of, in adorning *Attalus* (who *Curtius* tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 13. 21.* had some Resemblance of him) in Royal Robes, and placing his Guards round him, to make the Enemy on the other side believe the King still there, the *Indians* should seem to be more quick-fighted by half than the *Macedonians* ; for it is easier to discern the Body of an Elephant than a Man, and easier still to form a Judgment of the Bulk of a Man's Body, than the Features of his Face, or the Fashion of his Cloaths, at four Furlongs distance. But the mischief is, *Attalus* was posted nine Miles off, so that this last Story is false, and so, no doubt, is the first too.

best

best to prepare for the safety of himself and his Army. About that time of the Year (for it was then nigh the Summer Solstice) all the Rivers of *India* are full of Water, and consequently muddy and rapid; for heavy and frequent Rains then fall throughout all the Country; and besides, the Snow upon Mount *Caucasus* (from whence most of them have their Rise) melting with Heat, their Streams are thereby exceedingly augmented: But the Snow again congealing in Winter, and the Rains ceasing, the Rivers become clearer and shallower, insomuch, that all of them are fordable in some Place or other, except the *Indus* and *Ganges*, and perhaps one more; however, the 3 *Hydaspes* may be certainly pass'd over by Fords.

3 We have no satisfactory Description of this River in *Curtius*, tho' it was so very necessary. He only tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 13. 8.* " That it was four Furlongs broad, and withal very deep, as plainly appeared by the unevenness of the Current."---- Yet he has not got above a dozen Lines further, but he forgets what he has said before, and assures us, *cap. 13. 12.* That " in the middle of the River were many Islands, into which, as well the *Macedonians* as *Indians*, carrying their Arms upon their Heads, swam over: There they skirmished, and each King, by that Epitome, as it were, judged what Event the Battle was like to have." This Story is spun out half a Page further, but as no Author, so far as I can find, takes notice of it but himself, I think I may very safely pronounce it a Romance: For if the Surface of the Water was rough, and the bottom Rocky, it was unsafe, if not impossible for them to swim backward and forward. These Islands must be somewhere towards the middle of the River, because the *Macedonians* swam to them on one side, and the *Indians* on the other, when they met and fought their sham Fights. Now if small Parties of the *Macedonians* could do this, why might not the whole Army have ventured over the same Way? But that none could, is evident from *Arrian*, who assures us, " That at that time, being the Summer Solstice, by reason of the heavy Rains, and the melting of the Snow on the Mountains, from which these Rivers derive their Sources, their Channels are not only full of Water, but the Current strong and rapid. *Strabo*, *lib. xv.* and *Plutarch* pag. 37, agree with *Arrian* in this Story. Besides, for *Curtius* to talk of two Kings standing to observe those small Parties skirmishing in the middle of the River, is idle and trifling, they were otherwise employ'd; one in harrassing his Enemy with false Alarms, and the other in observing his Motions.



## C H A P. X.

ALEXANDER therefore caus'd a Report to be spread abroad, that he would tarry 'till that Time of the Year, and then attempt to force his Passage over ; nevertheless he caus'd a strict Watch to be kept throughout his Camp, to try if by any Means he could pass over secretly, and unobserv'd by the Enemy. But he dispair'd of gaining his Ends in that Part, where *Porus* lay encamp'd, as well because of the Multitude of his Elephants, as of his huge Army, well accoutred, and excellently disciplin'd , which was in readiness to fall upon them , the moment they came out of the River : Besides which, his Horses would not be able to gain the other side, without much Difficulty , because of the Elephants which would meet them ; and fright them exceedingly, both with their unusual Noise and Aspect : And he was in some doubt, whether they could possibly be kept upon the Hides, and so be convey'd a-cross the River ; because the moment they happen'd to espy the Elephants upon the Banks before them, they would be seiz'd with Fear, and leap into the Water. He therefore resolv'd to endeavour to gain the other side by stealth, and accordingly thus order'd the Matter : His Horse being detach'd to several Parts of the Bank by Night, he order'd loud Shouts to be made, an Alarm to be sounded, and all things, in appearance, to be prepar'd for a speedy Passage over ; upon which a mighty Noise was heard from every Quarter. *Porus*, on the opposite side, convey'd his Elephants wherefover he perceiv'd the <sup>1</sup> Noise of the *Macedonians* call'd

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* must be mistaken in saying, *lib. viii. cap. 13, 11.* " That the Indians caused their Beasts to make a dreadful Noise on purpose

call'd him ; and *Alexander*, according to his Custom, stood to watch his Motions. But when this had continu'd for several Nights, and nothing was attempted, nor any thing happen'd besides Noise, *Porus* began to desist from his strict observation of the Horse, and growing regardless of their Din, mov'd not from the Place of his Encampment ; only he took care to place Guards on the several parts of the Bank : *Alexander* therefore, as soon as he knew that *Porus* thought himself sufficiently safe from these nightly Excursions, order'd his Affairs after this manner.



## C H A P. XI.

1 THERE was a Rock fitly seated on the Bank of the River, where the Channel takes a mighty sweep, stor'd with Trees of various kinds : Over-against

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" to scare the *Macedonians*.—It's agreed by all Authors, that the *Macedonians* made a terrible Noise, on purpose to amuse the *Indians* : Now if both Armies made a Noise together, on different Views, I wonder who was likely to gain their Ends first. It was certainly *Porus*'s Busness to be still and quiet, that they might the better judge of the Noise which their Enemies made, and ward off the Blow where-ever it should fall.

1 The Passage over this River is described by *Curtius* (as almost every thing else is) lamely and imperfectly. " There was an Island " in the River, he says, *lib. viii. cap. 13. 17.* somewhat larger than " the rest." 'Tis plain the rest of his Islands were pretty near the middle of the River, between the two Encampments ; and who would imagine, by this Description, but this was thereabouts too ? I can assure my Readers it was far from that Place, being no less than one Hundred and Fifty Stadia (almost nineteen Miles) up the Stream.--- Well, he goes on, " and a large Ditch not far from the " Shore, which they imagin'd not only sufficient to hide Foot, " but Horse."--- Whereabouts on the Bank this Ditch was, he tells us not ; however, it is plain it must be over against the Island which he has pointed out, as lying directly between the two Encampments ; for he adds, " That *Alexander* might deceive the

against this Rock, at a small distance, was an Island in the River, over-run with Woods, and uninhabited, and consequently fit for his Purpose: Therefore considering that his Horse, as well as his Foot might reach that Place in safety, and there lie conceal'd, he resolv'd to ferry over. That Rock and Island were distant from the Body of his Camp, about one hundred and fifty Stadia. He therefore plac'd Guards all along the Bank, at such a distance as they could easily perceive each other, and receive and convey Commands. He had also order'd great Cries to be made, and Fires to be lighted up throughout the Camp, for many Nights together, and even when he design'd to pass the River, he did not make Preparations secretly in Tents, but openly: Having there-

“ watchfulness of his Enemies, he order'd *Ptolemy*, and all his Cavalry, to ride a good distance from the Island, and alarm the Indians with a Noise as if he intended then to pass the River. This he did for many Days together, and made *Porus* and his Army draw up just opposite to the place where they expected he would come over.”----- So that *Ptolemy*, and his Party, are a vast way up, or down the River; and *Porus*, and his Forces, have mov'd their Encampment, leaving *Alexander* and the bulk of the Macedonians over against the Island. That this is a fair Representation of the Case, I appeal to any unbiass'd Reader, and that it is every Title false, we have *Ptolemy's* own Word for it, from whose Memoirs *Arrian* has copy'd the best part of his History: The Story is thus; *Alexander* having observed a woody Island nineteen Miles up the Stream, with a Rock, or high Point of Land over against it, which *Curtius* calls a Ditch, resolved to ferry over there with part of his Army; and accordingly ordered *Craterus* to continue, with some Forces, in their first Encampment. About nine Miles up the River, he posted *Meleager*, *Attalus*, and *Gorgias*, with some choice Troops, and about nine or ten Miles further still, was the Rock, behind which, he with the Forces which he had with him, were making Preparations for ferrying over. The Indians continued all this while in their first Encampment, and if *Porus* observed any Bodies motions, it must be those of *Craterus*, who was over against him, for *Ptolemy* assures us, that he was nineteen Miles off, along with *Alexander*, and we may see in the next Chapter, that he ferry'd over the River along with him in the same Vessel.

fore left *Craterus* there, with his own Troop of Horse, to which those of the *Aracoti* and *Parapamisæ* were join'd, besides the *Macedonian Phalanx*, *Alcetas's*, and *Polypercon's* Forces, and the Princes of that Country, with the five Thousand *Indians*; he gave him strict Orders not to attempt to pass the River before he observ'd *Porus* on the other side, either coming against them, or flying from the Field.

“ If *Porus* (says he) should go out to meet me with  
“ part of his Army, and leave the other part, with  
“ the Elephants, in the Camp, then do you keep  
“ your present Station; but if he draws off all his Ele-  
“ phants against me, and leaves the rest of his Army  
“ encamp'd, then hafte over the River with your whole  
“ Force, for the sight of the Elephants alone makes  
“ the Passage dangerous for Horses.



## C H A P. XII.

THESE Commands were given to *Craterus*; but in the middle Space, at about an equal distance between the Rock and the main Camp, where *Craterus* lay, he posted *Meleager*, *Attalus* and *Gorgias*, with the Troops of Mercenary Horse and Foot, giving them Orders, that they should divide their Forces, and when they perceiv'd the *Indians* on the opposite side, engag'd in Battle, immediately ferry over. He, with the Auxiliary Horse, as also those of *Hephæstion*, *Perdiccas*, and *Demetrius*; the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, and *Scythians*; the *Dææ*, *Equestrian Archers* some choice Targeteers, the Troops of *Clitus* and *Cænus*, with the Archers and Agrians, march'd forwards at some distance from the Bank, least the Enemy should discern that he was hafing towards the Rock and Island, where he design'd to ferry over. Then ha-  
ving

ving long before furnish'd himself with Hides, he fill'd them by Night with light Matter, and stitched them up close ; and a great <sup>2</sup> Rain happening to fall that Night, was the Reason why all their Preparations for ferrying over pass'd undiscover'd ; the Noise of the Storm, with the Violence of the Thunder and Lightning hinder'd the clashing of their Armour, and the Voices of the Commanding Officers from being heard. Many of the Vessels which had been before taken to pieces, were convey'd hither, and put together again in the Wood, unperceiv'd by the Enemy, and among the rest, those of thirty Oars. The Winds then being hush'd, and the Rain ceasing a little before Day-light, as many of his Foot and Horse, as both the Hides and Ships could carry, pass'd secretly over into the Island, that they might not be discover'd by the Guards, which *Porus* had plac'd upon the Bank, before they had pass'd thro' the Island, and were even ready to ascend the Bank itself.

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* has oblig'd us first with a Tempest, *lib. viii cap. 13*, 22, " which happen'd, as he says, when *Alexander* was ready to " pass over the River." --- Then about half a dozen Lines after, his Tempest dwindleth into a Shower, but so violent, " that the Sol- " diers were forc'd to run out of their Ships to Land." --- Well, the Shower, it seems, was too sharp to last long, for he immedi- ately adds, " That it grew fair, but so thick a Fog succeeded, " that it obscur'd the Day, so that they could scarce see one an- " other's Faces, while they were talking together ; such a Dark- " ness overpread the Earth, as would have terrify'd any other." --- Well, any Reader, by his Description, would suppose it was Day all this while, however dark and dismal. But *Plutarch*, whose Credit outweighs his, assures us from *Alexander's* own Letters, *pag. 37.* " That it was a cold dark Night." --- So that the Tempest, and Shower, and Fog, and Darkness happening all in the Night, it was no great Wonder if they were to much at a loss for a sight of one anothers Faces ; but, in short, he seems every where to grope so much in the Dark, that he has scarce one Page throughout his whole Work free from Error, or Inconsistency.

## C H A P. XIII.

ALEXANDER himself follow'd in a Vessel of thirty Oars, and with him were *Ptolemy*, *Perdiccas*, and *Lysimachus*, three of his Body Guards, besides *Seleucus*, one of his Favourites, who reign'd as King after him; and half of the Targeeteers, the rest were convey'd over in other Vessels of the same Burthen. As soon as the Army had pass'd through the Island, they approach'd the Bank, in sight of the Enemies Out-Guards, who rode away with all imaginable Expedition, to carry the News to *Porus*. In the mean while, *Alexander*, who first ascended the Bank; took care to draw up those who ferry'd over in Vessels, and the Horse which came with them, and to march before them in order of Battle. But by their want of Knowledge in the Country, they happen'd to enter into a dangerous and unsafe Place: It was another <sup>1</sup> Island, much larger than the former, which seem'd otherwise to them, because a small Stream disjoin'd it from the Continent. But it fell out that the Rain the Night before, had swell'd it so prodigiously, that the Horsemen could not find a place to ford over, and were even afraid that this Passage might prove as troublesome as the former: However, at last they found a fordable Place, and pass'd through with some Difficulty; for the Water where the Channel was deepest, reach'd up to the Breasts of the Foot Soldiers, and to the Necks of the Horses. When they had

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<sup>1</sup> No manner of Notice is taken of this in *Curtius*; but *Plutarch* assures us, pag. 37. "That the *Hydaspes* was swoln so high with the Storm, that it had made a Breach in the Bank, which they pass'd in their Armour, up to the Breast in Water."

also

also conquer'd this, he plac'd a Squadron of Horse on the right Wing, of the best and choicest he could find, and dispos'd the *Equestrian* Archers to front the whole Cavalry: The Royal Targeteers, under the Command of *Seleucus*, were plac'd in the foremost Rank of Foot, and mix'd amongst the Horse; next those stood the Royal Cohort, then the other Companies of Targeteers, in their several Orders, and on each side of the *Pbalanx*, he posted the Darters, Archers, and Agrians.

## C H A P. XIV.

**H**IS Army thus modell'd, he commanded his Foot, who were in Number about six Thousand, to follow him, leisurely, and in order: And in-as-much as he appear'd to be superior to his Enemies in Cavalry, he took only five Thousand Horse, and with those, march'd swiftly forwards. *Tauro*, the Captain of his Archers, was order'd speedily to join him with his Men; for he easily imagin'd, that if *Porus* advanc'd against him with his whole Force, he would either be able to defeat them by the strength of his Horse, or, at least, to put them to a stand, 'till his Foot came up. But if the Indians should be seiz'd with a Consternation, at his unexpected Arrival on that side of the River, and turn their Backs, he would be at hand to pursue them, and the greater Slaughter there was then made, the less would be their Obstinacy in Resistance elsewhere. *Aristobulus* affirms, that *Porus*'s <sup>2</sup> Son arriv'd on the

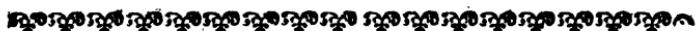
<sup>1</sup> Arrian has given us no fewer than three Relations of this Affair; the most probable of which is, that of *Ptolemy*, who was an Eye-witness thereof. However, in spite of all, *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 14. <sup>2</sup> will have it, that it was not *Porus*'s Son, but his Brother, whom he calls *Hages*; and *Polyænus* tells us, it was a Nephew of his, nam'd *Pittacus*.  
Banks

Banks of the River with sixty Chariots, before *Alexander* had convey'd his Forces out of the greater Island, and that he might easily have obstructed their Passage over, if the *Indians*, his Companions, had all of them leap'd out of their Chariots, and boldly attack'd the first they met, as they came out of the Water (for they gain'd the other side with Difficulty enough, tho' none oppos'd them) but they pass'd by, and left him to come over unmolested: Immediately after which, he dispatch'd his *Equestrian Archers* against them, who put them to flight, and slew many of them. Other Authors relate, that the *Indians*, who accompany'd *Porus*'s Son, attack'd *Alexander*, and his Body of Horse, as soon as they set Foot upon the Bank; and as he had the greatest part of the Forces with him, *Alexander* himself there received a Wound, and his Horse *Bucephalus*, which he exceedingly priz'd, was slain by *Porus*'s Son. But *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*, with much more Probability, tells the Story otherwise: For he writes, that as soon as *Porus* had information, by his Out-guards, that either *Alexander* himself, or at least part of his Army, were passing over the River, he dispatch'd his Son to hinder them, but not with so small a Number of Chariots as Sixty, that being very unreasonable to imagine; for if such a Number was sent as Scouts, to discover the Enemies Strength, they were too many, and too ill accommodated for that Purpose; if to obstruct their Passage, or attack them, after their arrival on Shore, they were too few: But the Truth is, *Ptolemy* assures us, they were no fewer than  $2$  two Thousand Horse, and one Hundred

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$2$  Authors differ strangely about the Number of Forces which *Porus*'s Son had with him. *Plutarch* pag. 37. *Edit. Steph.* says, they were one Thousand Horse, and Sixty armed Chariots. *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 14. 2. three Thousand Horse, and one Hundred arm'd Chariots: And *Ptolemy* in *Arrian*, two Thousand Horse, and one Hundred and Twenty armed Chariots. *Arrian* assures us, that

dred and Twenty Chariots, but before they could reach the Place, *Alexander* had pass'd the Ford, and came safe out of the last Island.



## C H A P. XV.

**T**H E same Author also tells us, that *Alexander*, at first, dispatch'd his *Equestrian Archers* against them, but that himself headed the Horse, imagining that *Porus*, with all his Forces, was at Hand; for the Cavalry march'd forward in the Front, before the rest of the Army: But when he had certain Intelligence by his Spies, of the Numbers of the *Indians*, then he attack'd them furiously with the Horse which were about him, and put them to flight, for they fought not in a compleat, firm, and regular Body, but by Troops. Four Hundred of the *Indian Horse* were there slain, and among them *Porus's* Son; and most of their Chariots, with their Horses, were taken, they being heavy and troublesome in Flight, and even in the Battle (by reason of the slippery Soil of the Place) altogether unserviceable. As soon as the Horse who had escap'd from this Conflict, arriv'd at their main Body, and gave <sup>1</sup> *Porus* notice that *Alexander*

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that *Porus* had two Sons slain in this Battle; and *Diodorus* agrees with him; so that *Philostratus* is in an Error when he affirms, *lib. 2. cap. 10.* That *Porus* at the time of his fighting with *Alexander* was but a Youth.

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 14. 9.* "That some of the Charioteers with their Chariots, escaped out of this Skirmish, and got safe to *Porus*, who was then valiantly fighting." — Yet after this, we find him marshalling his Army, and preparing for Battle. *Alexander* was not yet come near him: *Craterus*, with his Forces were on the other side of the River, and the Party posted in the middle space, between the Encampment and the Rock (*viz.*) *Meleager*, *Attalus*, and *Gorgias*, with their Troops, kept their Station;

Alexander was already pass'd over the River, with the greatest part of his Army, and that his Son was slain in Battle, he was so much mov'd, that he knew not what Course to take; especially because the Forces which were posted over against his grand Camp, and commanded by *Craterus*, were also endeavouring to pass the River: However, at last, he resolv'd to march against *Alexander*, and attack the *Macedonians*, as the strongest Body; and, at the same time, to leave a part of the Army, and some Elephants, behind in the Camp, to fright *Craterus's* Horse as they approach'd the Bank of the River. <sup>2</sup> He therefore, with his whole Body of Horse, which were about four Thousand, and three Hundred Chariots, with two Hundred Elephants, and near thirty Thousand Foot, march'd forwards, and when he came to a Plain, where the Soil was not incommodious, by rea-

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Station; so that if *Porus* was fighting at that time, it must be with Windmills, or imaginary Enemies; for he was yet at too great a distance from his real Ones to come to Blows.

<sup>2</sup> The Disposition of Battles in *Curtius*, is every where so trifling, that I shall not give my self, nor my Reader any trouble upon that Head, but refer him to the Work itself, which he may compare with *Arrian*; only I cannot forbear taking notice of one Thing very remarkable here: He tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 14. 11.* "That in the Front of the Indian Foot, the Statue of *Hercules* was carried, which was a great Encouragement to the Soldiers, and it was deemed a capital Crime to desert it. Thus had the Fear of *Hercules*, once their Enemy, created in them a religious Veneration for his Memory." — Who knows not, that the whole Story of *Hercules's* Expedition into *India*, and his Conquest thereof, was no more than a Fable, and whoever desires to hear it confuted, needs only have recourse to *Arrian*, *lib. iv.* in his Story of the Rock *Aornus*; and to *Strabo*, *lib. xv.* *Curtius* immediately after this, *lib. viii. cap. 14. 13.* proceeds to acquaint us, "That the prodigious height of the Beast, which carry'd *Porus*, seem'd to add to the Bulk of his Body." — This is the strangest Paradox I ever heard, and directly contrary to the Rules of Perspective. Shall *Porus* seem taller the higher he is mounted? What a mighty Monster, at that rate, would a Man upon the *Monument* appear to the People upon *Fish-street-Hill*? But no more needs be added to prove the falsity of that Assertion.

son

son of the slippery Clay, but firm and sandy, and every way fit for wheeling his Chariots round upon, he resolv'd there to draw up his Army, which he did in the following manner : First he plac'd the Elephants in the Front, at the distance of one hundred Foot from each other, to cover the whole Body of Foot, and at the same time to strike a Terror into *Alexander's* Horse ; for he imagin'd that none, either Horse, or Foot, would be so hardy as to endeavour to penetrate through the Spaces between the Elephants : The Horsemen, he thought, could not, because their Horses would be terrify'd at the Sight, and the Foot would not dare, because the arm'd Soldiers would be ready to gall them on each Hand, and the Elephants to trample them under their Feet. The Foot possess'd the next Rank, they were not indeed plac'd in the same Order with the Elephants, but so small a way behind, that they seem'd to fill up the interspaces. At the Extremities of each Wing, he plac'd Elephants, bearing huge wooden Towers, wherein were arm'd Men : The Foot were defended on each Hand by the Horse, and the Horse by the Chariots, which were plac'd before them.

## C H A P. XVI.

**P**O RUS's Army stood rang'd thus ; but as soon as *Alexander* saw the *Indians* drawn up in order of Battle, he commanded his Horse to halt, 'till the Foot could come up ; and even when the Body of Foot, had, by degrees, join'd with the rest of the Forces, he would not proceed immediately to marshalling them, lest he should expose them, breathless, and weary with a long March, to the Fury of the fresh *Barbarians* ; but surrounding them with his Horse, he gave them time to take Breath,

Breath, and recover their Spirits : Then, viewing the Disposition of the Enemys Troops, he came to a Resolution not to make his first Attack in Front, (where the greatest part of the Elephants were post-ed, and the Ranks of Foot were much thicker in the intermediate Spaces) for the same Fears which induced *Porus* to range that part of the Army thus, hinder'd *Alexander* from attacking them there first. But knowing himself to be much superior to the *Indians* in Horse, he, with the best part of them, mov'd towards *Porus*'s left Wing, resolving to break in upon that Quarter ; and dispatch'd *Cænus* with his own and *Demetrius*'s Troops to the Right, with Orders, that when he perceiv'd the *Barbarians* turn their Horse to resist the Fury of his Attack, he should fall upon their Rear. The Phalanx of Foot, he order'd to be led on by *Seleucus*, *Antigonus*

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<sup>1</sup> I design'd not to meddle with the Manner of the Disposition of this Army, according to *Curtius* ; but he is so inconsi-  
stent with himself, that 'tis impossible to pass him by. *Freinbe-  
mius* has been endeavouring to lick the Bear's Cub into a little  
better Form, and has accordingly, made bold to alter the Original  
in several places, in spite of all Manuscript Copies ; but he has been  
striving to wash a Blackamore White ; for many gross Errors will  
still remain, when he and all the World have done their utmost. As  
for Example : He tells us first, *lib. viii. cap. 14. 13.* " That the  
" Beasts, or Elephants, ranged among the Men, appeared like  
" Towers.— This *Arrian*, with good Reason, contradicts, and  
affirms, that all the Soldiers were ranged behind the Elephants ;  
and *Curtius* himself had said so too but ten Lines before, *lib. viii.  
cap. 14. 10.* but his Wit was prejudicial to his Memory, and Truth  
was not his Talent. Then he makes *Alexander*, in a Speech to  
his Officers, tell *Cænus*, *cap. 14. 15.* " When I, with *Ptolemy*,  
" *Perdiccas*, and *Hephæstion*, make an Attack upon their left Wing,  
" and you see me close engaged, do you *dextrum move*,"— Now  
I would ask any Mortal what he can mean by his *dextrum move*?  
If he means, as the Words import, move the right Wing; pray  
what right Wing had he to move? The *Macedonian* right Wing he  
could not ; *Alexander* commanded there; and the *Indians* he must  
not, he was an Enemy to them. Some of his Commentators have  
been dabbling with him here, and have altered the Text to *in Dex-  
trum*

gonus and *Tauro*; and commanded them not to engage before they saw the Enemys Horse and Foot in disorder, by his, and *Cænus*'s Attacks. But when they came within the reach of their missive Weapons, they should immediately dispatch about a Thousand Archers against the Enemys left Wing, that by the Violence of those, and the Irruption of the Horse, that part of the Army might be put into disorder: He, with his auxiliary Horse, flew swiftly to the left Wing, with design to engage

*trum move*. But *Move* was never used in that Sense by any Author, Ancient or Modern. However, if we should grant that this might be wrested to common Sense, his next Assertion never will, and that is no more than six Lines further; for there he tells us, *cap. 14. 17.* that “*Cænus* bravely assailed the left Wing.”—All the World must allow this an Error and a Contradiction. However *Raderus* tells you very modestly, This is indeed contrary to *Arrian*, and also to common Sense; but all will be well, if instead of left Wing, you read right Wing; and *Curtius*, whether he wrote so or no, ought to have wrote so. *Curtius* next proceeds to acquaint us, *cap. 14. 18.* That “*Porus* strove to oppose his Elephants against the Enemies Horse.”—That must be false; for the *Macedonian* Phalanx was posted in the main Body over against them, and they could not move. *Arrian* indeed assures us, that the Governors of these Beasts, irritated, or exasperated them, to make them trample down the Horse, if occasion served; but the Foot did their Work, and the Horse had no Busines to concern themselves with them. He tells us immediately after, *cap. 16. 19.* “That the Arrows of the *Barbarians* did them no service, for being long and heavy, they could not direct them true, unless they rested their Bows upon the Ground, and that being slippery, hindered them so much, that before they could shoot, the Enemy was upon them.”—What monstrous unwieldy Things must these *Indian* Arrows be, that such huge Fellows were not able to manage their Bows without a Rest? And how come they to be so dull as never to find out this Inconveniency before? Besides, the Ground whereon the Battle was fought, was of *Porus*'s own chusing: And *Arrian* has told us plainly in his fifteenth Chapter, that the very Reason why he chose that Place for the Field of Battle, was, because it was not a slippery Clay, but a firm Sand.—Made firm, no doubt, by the heavy Rains which fell the Night before,—and every way fit for his Chariots to wheel round upon.

them

them warmly, before they could recover themselves from the Confusion which his Archers must necessarily bring them into.



## C H A P. XVII.

THE *Indians* perceiving themselves environ'd on all Hands, first led on their Horse, to resist the Attacks of *Alexander*, when immediately *Cænus*, with his Forces, as he had been order'd, fell upon them in Flank, which caused them to divide their Forces into two Parts, and resolve to lead the best and most numerous of them against *Alexander*, and face about with the other, to meet *Cænus*; and this serv'd to break the Ranks, as well as the Courage of the *Indians*. *Alexander* taking this Opportunity of their dividing their Forces, immediately rush'd forwards upon that Party design'd against him, which were scarce able to sustain the first Shock of his Horse, before they fled to the Elephants, as to a friendly Wall for Refuge, whose Governours stir'd up the Beasts to trample down the Horse; but the *Macedonian* Phalanx gall'd not only the Beasts themselves, but their Riders also, with their Arrows; and this was a Manner of Fighting altogether new, and unheard-of among the *Macedonians*: For which-way-soever the Elephants turn'd, the Ranks of Foot, however firm, were forc'd to give Way. The *Indian* Horse, now perceiving their Foot in the heat of Action, rally'd again, and attack'd *Alexander's* Horse a second time, but were again forc'd back with Loss (because they were far inferior to them, not only in Number, but in Military Discipline) and retreated among the Elephants. And now all *Alexander's* Horse being

joyn'd together in one Body, (not by any command of his, but by Chance, and a casual Event in the Battle) wherever they fell upon the *Indians*, they made dreadful Havock among them. And <sup>1</sup> the Beasts being now pent up in a narrow Space, and violently enrag'd, did no les Mischief to their own Men, than the Enemy ; and as they toss'd and mov'd about, Multitudes were trampled to Death ; besides, the Horse being confin'd among the Elephants, a huge Slaughter ensu'd, for many of the Governours of the <sup>2</sup> Beasts being slain by the Archers, and the Elephants themselves, partly enrag'd with their Wounds, and partly for want of Riders, no longer kept any certain Station in the Battle, but running forwards,

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 14. 28, 29.* " That the *Macedonians* begun to hack the Elephants Legs with Axes, and to hew off their Trunks with crooked Swords, made on purpose, and that their Fear taught them this, &c." — No doubt but the *Macedonians* had Workmen to make all sorts of Weapons, in the several Stations where their Army rested ; but to imagine that they built Forges, and hammered out Axes, and crooked Swords, to lop off Legs and Hands (*manus*) of Elephants in a Field of Battle, chose out by their Enemies, and in the heat of an Engagement, is meer Madness, and what none but himself would have been guilty of intimating.

<sup>2</sup> The Elephants, *Curtius* tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 14. 30.* having received many Wounds (by the *Macedonians* new-invented Axes, and crooked Swords) fell upon their own Men, and having cast off their Riders or Governours, trampled them under Foot ; wherefore becoming much more mischievous to their own Men than to their Enemies, they were driven out of the Battle." — We have already shewn, that the Elephants were posted before the Indian Foot, to serve instead of a Fence, or Breast-work for them to retire to, so long as they stood firm. It was therefore the Busines of the *Macedonians* to remove them as fast as they could ; which they did by shooting their Riders or Governours down, and then wounding them with their Arrows. This enraged them so much, that pushing forward, they trampled under Foot all they met, as well Friends as Foes. The *Macedonians* perceiving their Approach, made way for them, and suffered them to pass out of the Battle. Thus, by *Arrian's* assistance, I have made out *Curtius's* Meaning, tho' it is impossible to pick common Sense out of his Words.

as if Madness had seiz'd them, they push'd down, flew, and trampled under Foot, Friends and Foes, without distinction: Only the *Macedonians* having the Advantage of a more free and open Space, gave way, and made room for the furious Beasts to rush through their Ranks, but flew them whenever they attempted to return: But the Beasts at last, quite wearied out with Wounds and Toil, were no longer able to push with their usual Force, but only made a hideous Noise, and moving their fore Feet heavily, pass'd out of the Battle. *Alexander* having surrounded all the Enemies Horse with his, made a Signal for the Foot to close their Shields fast together, and haste that way, in a firm Body, and by this means the *Indian* Horse being every way over-power'd, were almost all slain. Nor was the Fate of their Foot much better, for the *Macedonians* pressing them vehemently on all Sides, made a great Destruction among them, and, at last, all of them (except those whom *Alexander's* Horse had hemm'd in) perceiving their Case desperate, turn'd their Backs and fled.



## C H A P. XVIII.

**I**N the mean while, <sup>1</sup> *Craterus*, and the Captains who were with him on the other side the River, no sooner perceiv'd the Victory to encline to the *Macedonians*, than they pass'd over, and made

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* has taken no notice of this Party, which was kept as a Body of Reserve, and ordered not to pass the River 'till they perceived the Elephants removed from the Bank: He has also forgot to acquaint us how many fell on each Side; what Number of Prisoners, or what Booty was taken; and notwithstanding he had made so much a-do about their armed Chariots before, he never condescends to mention them in the last decisive Action.

a dismal Slaughter of the *Indians* in the pursuit ; and being fresh Soldiers, they succeeded those who had been wearied out in the heat of the Battle. Of the *Indian* Foot, little less than twenty Thousand fell that Day ; of their Horse about three Thousand. All their Chariots were hack'd to pieces : Two of *Porus*'s Sons were slain ; as was *Spitaces*, Governour of that Province, all the Managers of their Elephants, and their Charioteers ; and almost all the Captains of Horse, as well as Foot, belonging to *Porus*. The Elephants also, which were not kill'd, were every one taken. Of *Alexander*'s Foot, which consisted at first of six Thousand, and gave the first Onset, about Eighty were lost ; of his Equestrian Archers, Ten ; of the Auxiliary Horse, Twenty ; and of all the rest of the Troops of Horse, about two Hundred. *Porus*, who behav'd himself with the utmost Prudence, and acted the part, not only of an experienc'd General, but of a stout Soldier, all that Day ; seeing the Slaughter made among his Horse, and some of his Elephants lying dead, others without Managers, running about, mad with their Wounds ; and the greatest part of his Foot cut off, behav'd not like King *Darius*, who left the Field among the very first of his Troops ; but as long as ever he could see any Party of his *Indians* keep their Ground, he fought bravely ; but receiving a <sup>2</sup> Wound

on

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<sup>2</sup> *Porus*, according to *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 14. 32. received nine Wounds, some before, and some behind ; for he was aimed at by all. *Diodorus*, page 559. says, he sunk down from his Elephant, by reason of the multitude of his Wounds ; and *Justin* agrees with him. However *Diodorus* contradicts *Curtius*, and *Curtius* is hardly consistent with himself ; for he tells us, cap. 14. 33. 34. " That *Porus* lost so much Blood, and (of consequence grew so weak) that he seemed rather to let fall than throw his Darts, and the Governour of his Elephant seeing the King so near fainting, and ready to expire, turned the Beast out of the Battle." — Well, *Porus* fled, and *Alexander* pursued, till his Horse died under him. Then the Brother of *Taxiles*, he says, " was sent to advise *Porus* to

On the right Shoulder, which place alone was bare during the Action (for his Coat of Mail being excellent both for Strength and Workmanship, as it afterwards appear'd, easily secur'd the rest of his Body) he turn'd his Elephant out of the Battle and fled. *Alexander* having observ'd his gallant and generous Behaviour in that Days Action, desir'd, above all things, to have his Life sav'd ; and accordingly sent *Taxiles*, the *Indian* Prince to him, who, when he overtook him, and came as near as was safe, for fear of his Elephant, he requested him to stop his Beast (for that all his Endeavours to escape were vain) and receive *Alexander's* Commands. *Porus* seeing it was *Taxiles*, his old Enemy, run against him with his Spear, and had perhaps slain him, if he had not immediately turn'd away his Horse and escap'd out of his sight. However, all this was not sufficient to incense *Alexander* against him ; but he sent others, and after them more, among whom was

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" to yield, but *Porus* first made a Speech, and then threw  
 " a Dart at him, which entring his Breast, came forth at his Back ;  
 " having done his Busines, he begun to mend his Pace ; upon  
 " which his Elephant, by reason of the many Wounds he had re-  
 " ceived, sunk down under him. Then endeavouring to rally his  
 " Foot-Forces, the Battle was renewed, and multitudes of Darts  
 " being thrown at him, he began to slide off from his Elephant ;  
 " whereupon the Gouvernour of the Beast, thinking his Master  
 " was about to alight, made the Beast bend his Body to the  
 " Ground." — It was time; but it was a Thousand to One  
 but the King was down first: However, if I mistake not, the Beast  
 had sank down under *Porus* before, so that the Gonernour might  
 have saved himself the Trouble of commanding him to bend his  
 Body. But this is not all; for " *Alexander*, he says, cap. 14. 40.  
 " no sooner ordered *Porus's* Body to be stripp'd, but the Elephant,  
 " as if he had been sensible of the Indignity offered to his Master,  
 " defended him, and began to assault, and run at those who  
 " offered to approach him; and not only so, but strove to recover  
 " him again upon his Back." — This was prodigious in a Beast  
 which had sunk down under him, and was not able to stand, about  
 a dozen Lines before ; so strangely do those People contradict  
 themselves who have no regard to Truth.

*Meroe*, an *Indian*, because he understood that there had been an old Friendship between him and *Porus*. *Porus* overcome with *Meroe's* Exhortations, and almost dead with Thirst, caus'd his Elephant to kneel down, and then alighted from him; and as soon as he had refresh'd himself with a little Water, he accompanied *Meroe* to *Alexander*.



## C H A P. XIX.

*ALEXANDER* being inform'd of the Approach of *Porus*, advanc'd a little forwards, before his Army; and, accompanied by some of his Friends, went to meet him; and stopping his Horse, was seiz'd with Admiration at his Tallness, (for he was above five <sup>1</sup> Cubits high) as well as at his Beauty, and the Justness of the Proportion of his Body; and he was no less amaz'd to find, that he seem'd still far from entertaining any humble or servile Ideas in his Mind, tho' he was conquer'd; He consider'd besides, that he was a generous Man, who had contended with another of equal Generosity, and that he was a King who had strove to preserve his Dominions from the Invasions of another King. Then

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<sup>1</sup> Fiye Cubits, are equal to about seven Foot and a half of our Measure. *Plutarch*, pag. 37, says, that, according to most Authors, he was reckoned to be four Cubits and a Hands breadth; but *Raderus* thinks his four Cubits ought to be five; because *Eustathius* in his Notes to *Dionysius*, ver. 1027, tells us, that many of the *Indians* were above five Cubits high. *Curtius* gives us no certain Rule by which we may guess at his Stature, he only affirming, *lib. viii. cap. 13. 7.* "That *Porus* exceeded the common Height of Men, and that his Elephant as far surpas'd the rest of the Elephants in bulk, as he did the rest of his Army in Strength and Stature."—*Diodorus*, p. 559. adds, "That his Body was so big, that his Breast-Plate was twice the Demensions with pany of the rest.

*Alexander*

Alexander first directing his Discourse to him, commanded him to ask what he should do for him; to whom *Porus* made answer, *That he would use him Royally*. Alexander smiling, reply'd, *That I would do for my own sake*; but say what I shall do for thine. *Porus* told him, *All his Wishes were summ'd up in his first Petition*. Alexander over-joy'd at this Answer of his, not only restor'd him straight to Liberty, and the full Possession of his former Dominions, but also gave him another Empire beyond his own, and treated him in so royal and so generous a Manner, that he ever after had him his fast Friend. Thus concluded the Wars of *Alexander* against *Porus*, and the *Indians*, beyond the River *Hydaspes*, in the Month *Munychion*, when *Hegemon* was Archon of *Athens*. Then on the very Place where the Battle had been fought, beyond the River, and where his grand Encampment was on this side, he caused two <sup>3</sup> Cities to be built: That on the further side, he nam'd *Nicæa*, in Memory of his Victory over the *Indians*; This

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<sup>2</sup> *Plutarch*, pag. 38. has given us this Question and Answer much to the same purpose: "For *Alexander*, he says, asked *Porus* " how he expected to be used, *Porus* answered, As a King ought " to be: And when the same Question was repeated, he told him, " That his first Answer comprehended every thing." *Curtius*, who was a Speech-Maker by Trade, has made a couple of fine Ones for *Alexander*, with their Replies for *Porus*, which, whoever pleases, may read towards the Conclusion of his Eighth Book.

<sup>3</sup> *Curtius*, who is always sure to copy the Errors of his Master *Diodorus*, tells us, *lib. ix. cap. 3. 23.* That those Cities were built when *Alexander* fixed upon a Resolution of departing out of *India*: But in this, he has not only *Arrian*, but the whole *Posse* of Writers against him. *Arrian* indeed informs us, that he caused them to be repaired at that time, because they had received much Damage by the overflowing of the River, but that they were built before, all agree. *Plutarch* acquaints us, p. 38. " That he built a City in " Memory of his favourite Dog *Peritas*: — Which he honoured, no doubt, with his Name: However, this is the same in all probability with *Nicæa*; so that the City built in Memory of his Horse, was on one side of the River, because he died there; and that in Memory of his Dog, was on the opposite side; perhaps his Dog might die in the Bed of Honour.

he nam'd *Bucephalus*, to perpetuate the Memory of his Horse *Bucephalus*, which died there, not because of any Wound he had received, but meerly of old Age, and excess of Heat; for when this happen'd, he was nigh 4 thirty Years Old: He had also endur'd much Fatigue, and undergone many Dangers with his Master, and would never suffer any, except *Alexander* himself, to mount him. He was strong, and beautiful in Body, and of a generous Spirit. The Mark by which he was said to have been particularly distinguished, was a Head like an Ox, from whence he receiv'd his Name of *Bucephalus*: Or rather, according to others, because he being Black, had a white Mark upon his Forehead, not unlike those which Oxen often bear. When *Alexander* had once lost this Horse in the Territories of the *Uxii*, he caused a Proclamation to be issued throughout all the Country, that unless they would restore him, he would put them all to the Sword; upon which, he was immediately restor'd: So dear was he to *Alexander*, and so terrible was *Alexander* to the *Barbarians*.



## C H A P. XX.

**W**HEN *Alexander* had performed all due Honour to those who fell in that Battle, and had offered the accustom'd Sacrifices to the Gods for his Victory. He exhibited Gymnick and Equestrian

4 If *Bucephalus* was nigh thirty Years of Age when *Alexander* was scarce nine and Twenty, he must be nigh Seventeen when he was brought to *Philip*, and sold for thirteen Talents, for *Alexander* was then towards Sixteen: What Mettle Horses might then be made of, I know not, nor what Price they might bear; but I fancy a *Smithfield* Jockey in our Age, would give little more for a Horse of sixteen Years Old, than the Value of his Skin and his Shoes.

Exercises upon the Banks of the River *Hydaspes*, in the very Place where he pass'd over. He then left *Craterus*, with some of his Forces, there, to finish the Cities which he had begun, and to surround them with Walls, while himself march'd against the *Indians*, adjacent to *Porus's* Dominions. <sup>1</sup> These were call'd *Glaucanice* by *Aristobulus*, and by *Ptolemy*, *Glaucae*, but which was their right Appellation, is not very material. *Alexander* enter'd their Country, with part of his Auxiliary Horse, and some of the choicest out of every Company of Foot, all his Equestrian Archers, besides his *Agrians* and Archers, and the whole Country was immediately deliver'd up to him. It contained Thirty Seven Cities, the least of which, had not less than five Thousand Inhabitants, and many of the biggest above ten Thousand: There were also a vast number of large Villages, some of them little less populous than Cities. This whole Country he added to the Dominions of *Porus*. After which, having wrought a Reconciliation between him and *Taxiles*, he gave the latter leave to return to his Territories. About this time arrived Embassadors from <sup>2</sup> *Abissares*, acquainting him, that he, and his Country,

<sup>1</sup> I cannot find that *Curtius* takes any notice of these People, but instead of that, he busies himself, and amuses his Readers with Stories of Serpents and Rhinoceros's, *lib. ix. chap. 1. 5. &c.* which, how ever true, ought to give place to Historical Facts, because they are nothing to his Purpose. *Plutarch* seems to glance obliquely at them, by saying *p. 38.* "That *Alexander* added a large Province of some free People whom he had newly subdued, to the Dominions of *Porus*, which consisted of fifteen several Nations, and contained five Thousand considerable Towns besides abundance of Villages.

<sup>2</sup> *Abissares*, according to *Curtius*, *lib. ix. cap. 1. 7.* sent Embassadors now, a second time, to *Alexander*, promising to submit to all his Commands, on condition he might not be obliged to surrender his Person, for that he could not brook to live without a Royal Authority, nor to enjoy even that, when he had been once a Captive." But *Alexander* answered him, "That if he thought it too much Trouble to come to him, he would take the Pains to wait upon him." — Had *Abissares* sent any such Message,

Country, were at his Command. This *Abissares*, before the Battle at the *Hydaspes*, design'd to have joyn'd his Forces with *Porus* against *Alexander*, but the Overthrow of that Monarch chang'd his Resolutions; wherefore to ingratiate himself with *Alexander*, he then dispatch'd his Brother, and other Embassadors, to him, with a Present of Money, and forty Elephants. Embassadors were also sent at this time from the *Indians*, who were govern'd by Laws of their own making; and from another *Indian* Prince whose Name was *Porus*. *Alexander* immediately order'd *Abissares* to attend him in Person, and threaten'd, that unless he obey'd, he would lead his Army directly into his Territories. At this Juncture *Phratapernes*, Governour of *Parthia*, and *Hyrcania*, with the *Thracians* committed to his charge, came to *Alexander*, as also Messengers from *Sisicottus* Ruler of the *Assaceni*, assuring him, that That Nation had slain their Governour and revolted: Against them he dispatch'd *Philip* and *Tariysses*, with an Army to reduce them to Obedience, and afterwards rule the Province. He, in the mean, time directed his March towards the River <sup>3</sup> *Acesines*. *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, has given us a Description of this River, and indeed it is the only one throughout all

*India*,

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Message, *Alexander* would undoubtedly have paid him a Visit; but that he did not visit him, is evident from *Arrian*, lib. 3. cap. 4. who assures us, that *Alexander* accepted of his Excuse for not attending him in Person, on account of his ill State of Health; and to add to the probability of this, *Curtius* tells us, lib. 10. cap. 1. 20. that he received an account of his Death.

3 *Freinsheimius* acquaints us, " That, from this Place, *Curtius* " hurries on his History abundantly too fast; that he intirely " omits many Acts of great Importance, and touches upon others " in a manner too light and trivial; *vid. Freinsheim. ad Curt. lib. ix. cap. 1. 8.* He has mentioned the River *Acesines* indeed, but not in its due place; he tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 9. 7.* " That it falls " into the *Ganges*, just before that River disburthens itself into the " *Red Sea*."— Here are two Assertions, and both false; for first, the

India, he has taken the Pains to describe. He tells us, that the Current, in that Part thereof, where *Alexander* ferry'd over his Army with his Hides, and his Vessels; was fierce and rapid, and the Channel full of large and sharp Rocks, which beating the Waters back, and wheeling them about, caused vast Boilings and Eddies; that its Breadth was about fifteen Furlongs; that those who were plac'd upon the Hides, found a safe and easy Passage; but many of those who embark'd on Board the Vessels, were wreck'd, by striking against the Rocks, and lost their Lives. From the Discription of this River, 'tis no hard matter to gather, that those Authors err not much, who give us an account of the Breadth of the River *Indus*, namely, that it is forty Furlongs, where widest, but in the narrowest and deepest Parts thereof not above Fifteen; and that this is the general Breadth all along. I am of Opinion, that *Alexander* chose that part of the River *Acesines*, where the Channel was widest, and consequently stillest, for the Transportation of his Army.



## C H A P. XXI.

**H**AVING thus pass'd the River, he left *Cænus*, with his Forces, upon the Bank, to take care that the rest of the Army should pass safe, and also to gather up Corn, and other Necessaries from all the neighbouring parts of *India*, which were under his Subjection. He also dismiss'd *Porus*, and sent

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the *Acesines* falls not into the *Ganges*, but into the *Indus*; for which see *Arrian*, lib. vi. 1. *Pliny lib. vi. 20. Strabo lib. xv.* nay even *Curtius* himself allows the same, lib. ix. cap. 4. 1. Secondly, altho' the Ancients extended the Red Sea a vast way, and some of them perhaps as far as the Mouth of the River *Indus*, yet none of them ever dream'd of stretching it to such an immense distance as the *Ganges*. him

him to his Kingdom, with orders to muster up ~~some~~<sup>the best</sup> and most Warlike Soldiers he could, and some tame Elephants (if he had any) and return to him again. He having receiv'd Intelligence that the other <sup>1</sup> *Porus* had fled out of his Dominions, was resolv'd to pursue him, with the best and most expeditious Troops of his whole Army. This *Porus*, while *Alexander* wag'd War with the other, sent Embassadors to him, promising a free Surrender of himself and Kingdom, rather out of Hatred to the other *Porus*, than any good Will to *Alexander*. But when he heard that he was sent back, and knew for a certainty, that his Kingdom was restored to him much enlarrg'd, he left his own Territories and fled, not so much for fear of *Alexander*, as of *Porus*; and took with him all who were fit for War, and all whom he could possibly persuade to accompany him in his Flight. *Alexander* marching against him, came to <sup>2</sup> the *Hydراotes*, another *Indian* River, nothing inferior in breadth to *Acesines*, but not nigh so rapid; and took care to post Guards in all convenient Places, that *Cra-*

<sup>1</sup> Mr. *Le Clerc* in his Criticism prefixed to this Work, tells us, that *Curtius* has comprehended all he had to say of this *Porus* in one Word. *Strabo* in his Fifteenth Book has mentioned him just in a cursory manner; but the only valuable Account of him is this of *Arrian*. The Word which Mr. *Le Clerc* hints at is *lib. ix. cap. 1. 8. Poro amneque superato, ad interiora processit*; which imports, that when *Alexander* had conquer'd *Porus*, and passed the River, he marched forward to the inner Parts of *India*.— By this may indeed be meant this second *Porus*, and the River *Acesines*; but it is difficult to find the Author's true meaning, and if we could, it is hardly worth the search.

<sup>2</sup> This River *Curtius* and *Strabo* calls *Hyarotis*, but neither of them have given any Description thereof. *Curtius*, indeed, tells us, *lib. ix. cap. 1. 13.* “ That near it there was a Wood, wherein “ were strange Trees, and wild Peacocks, and that *Alexander* be- “ sieg'd a Town not far off (which he names not) and having won “ it, imposed a Tribute from the Inhabitants, and took Hostages “ for the Payment thereof.”— This Account may perhaps be supposed to quadrate with the Conclusion of this Chapter, if not, I cannot help it. I am only to find out parallel Places in the two Authors, not to make them.

terus and *Cænus*, whom he had sent out to forage through all the Country, might pass safely to him. Then he dispatch'd *Hephæstion*, with part of his Army, namely, two Squadrons of Foot, and his own and *Demetrius*'s Troops of Horse, as also half the Archers, to take Possession of the whole Country, which that *Porus* had deserted ; and deliver it into the Hands of the other *Porus*, his Friend : And if he found any free *Indians* upon the Banks of the River *Hydraotes*, he should also give them up to his Governors. In the mean while, he pass'd the River *Hydraotes*, with less difficulty than he had the *Acesines*, and marching forwards, some of the Inhabitants yielded themselves and Country ; others took up Arms and attempted to oppose him, but were defeated, and many endeavouring to secure themselves by Flight, were pursued, and reduced to Obedience.



## C H A P. XXII.

THEN came News to *Alexander*, that certain free *Indians* and *Catæans* were resolved to give him Battle, if he attempted to lead his Army thither, and that they were soliciting all their free Neighbours to join with them ; as also, that they had chose a City named *Sangala*, strong by Art and Nature, where they had fix'd their Encampment, and were resolv'd to fight him. The *Catæi* were a stout People, well skill'd in Military Affairs, and with them the *Oxydrace*, and the *Malli*, two other *Indian* Nations, were confederated. *Porus* and *Abissares*, not long before, had joyn'd their Forces against these, and call'd in the Aid of many *Indian* Princes besides ; but were forc'd at last to depart, without affecting any thing suitable to such mighty Preparations. *Alexander* no sooner heard this

this, but he immediately directed his March against the *Catbæi*; and on the Day after his departure from the River *Hydraotes*, came to a City call'd *Pimprama*, belonging to a Nation of *Indians*, named *Adraistæ*, who forthwith surrendered themselves and Country into his Hands. The next Day he tarried there to refresh his Soldiers, and on the third, reached <sup>1</sup> *Sangala*, where he found the *Catbæi* and some of their Confederates, drawn up before the City, on the side of a Hill, neither very high, nor naturally very difficult of Access. This Hill they had environ'd with their Carriages in a triple Range, by which it was fortify'd as with a triple Wall, and their Tents were pitch'd in the middle. <sup>2</sup> *Alexander* taking a survey of the Nature of the Place, and the Multitude of his Enemies, chose a convenient Place for his En-

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* has presented us with such an imperfect fetch of the Siege of this Place, that it appears more like the tattered Fragments, or broken Remains of a Story thrown together, than any thing regularly desigued. He informs us, *lib. ix. cap. i. 14.* "That *Alexander* having taken Hostages at the former Place, came to a great City (as Cities are in that Country) which was fenced, not only with a Wall, but a Lake."— Now would not any Reader imagine, that the Lake surrounded the Wall, I am sure I should, if *Arrian* had not taught me better; for he tells us in the next Chapter, "That the Wall surrounded the Town, but the Lake run only along one side of the Wall."— But to proceed, "There he was met by the *Barbarians*, who came out to fight him with Chariots tied together."— He acquaints us not whether they were upon a Hill, or in a Valley; and I believe it impossible for any Mortal, by his Description, to have any Idea of the Encampment, as it was in reality.

<sup>2</sup> As we have not one word in *Curtius* about the Disposition of the *Barbarians*, so he is intirely silent as to the Disposition of *Alexander's* Troops, as if every thing (which was so regularly ordered in this Attack) had been done in Hurry and Confusion. We are not so much as told, whether they were Foot or Horse; neither have we the Name of one commanding Officer given us; and if it were not for his Story of the Chariots ty'd together with Thongs, which is something particular, all the remaining part of the Description would serve as well for any other Battle, as that for which it was designed. See *Curt. lib. ix. cap. i. 15. &c.*

campment,

campment, and then order'd his Equestrian Archers to advance forward, and gall them with their Arrows ; but first to surround them, to hinder them from making any Excursion upon the *Macedonians*, before they had prepar'd themselves for Battle, and to strike a Terror into those in the Camp, before a Battle ensued. He then rang'd his Army in this Manner ; on the right Wing were the Horse, and *Clitus*'s Forces ; next those the Targeteers, and then the *Agrians* : On the left Wing, where *Perdiccas* commanded, were his own Troops, and the Auxiliary Foot ; the Archers were divided, and plac'd in both Wings. At this very time arriv'd the Troops of Foot and Horse, which had been posted as Guards upon the Road : The Horse he distributed into both Wings, but added the Foot to the Phalanx, or main Body, to strengthen it ; and then with the Horse on the Right, he advanced to attack the *Indian* Carriages on the Left ; for the Range of their Carriages seem'd not only much weaker in that Part, than any other, but the ascent of the Hill was also much easier to be gain'd.



### C H A P. XXIII.

**B**UT when he perceiv'd that the *Indians* stirr'd not out of their Intrenchment, nor endeavour'd to come to an Engagement with the Horse, but only climb'd up into their <sup>1</sup> Carriages, and from thence, as from an Eminence, threw their Weapons, he

<sup>1</sup> The *Indians*, according to *Curtius*'s Narration, *lib. ix. cap. 1. 15.* were armed, some with Darts, others with Spears and Axes, and leap'd with great Force and Agility into the Chariots ; when they had a mind to assist any of their own Party in danger, so unusual a way of Fighting did not a little startle the *Macedonians*.

he judg'd the Horse unsit for such an Attack, and therefore alighting immediately from his, he led a Battalion of Foot against them. They were repuls'd from the first Range of their Carriages, without any great Difficulty; but when the *Macedonians* advanc'd to the Second, they found a much greater Resistance; because the Carriages not only stood much closer, but the Way by which the Attack was made, was

“nians, because they were wounded at a distance.”— So they had been a thousand Times before, and must expect to be, wherever massive Weapons are made use of. So that there was nothing unusual in it; nor does *Arrian* once intimate, that they were startled at the Matter at all.— However, *Curtius* adds, Upon “better Consideration, despising a Troop so ill composed and irregular.”— I appeal to all the World, whether a Body of Forces upon an Eminence so strongly bastioned, with three rows of Carriages, instead of Breast-works, or Intrenchments, can properly be stiled an ill-composed and irregular Troop.— “They poured in upon them, and besetting both sides of their Chariots, begun with their Swords most furiously to assail all who opposed them; and that they might the better come at the Chariots to surround them singly, orders were given to cut a-sunder the Cords or Thongs wherewith they were bound together: So that the Enemies, after the loss of eight Thousand of their Men, were forced to retire into the Town; whose Walls being the very next Day attempted with Scaling-Ladders, were easily gain'd.”— That they were, when the Ladders came to be fixed, but a Breach was first made, and even before that, the *Macedonians* found Work enough; tho' perhaps *Curtius* did not think it worth his describing.— “Some few, he tells us, saved themselves by flight, who knowing of the taking of the City, swam over the Lake, and filled all the neighbouring Towns with Terror and Consternation.”— I defy the best Critick in Christendom to make Sense of this; for if those who saved themselves by Flight fled out of the Battle, and swam cross the Lake, they must enter into the City where they would be coup'd up with the rest, and not suffered to run out and scare their Neighbours: And if they fled out of the City, it must be before it was taken, and then how could they be so very farre of its Destruction?— He then concludes his Story, by telling us, “They reported every where, that an invincible Army was come, who seem'd rather Gods than Men.”— They might look like Gods, but they fought like Devils, as the poor Townsmen, who were forced to bear the brunt of it, found afterwards to their Cost.

much

much narrower. However, after a long struggle, they broke and tore away some of the Carriages, and having thus laid some parts of the Range open, rush'd thro' the vacant Spaces, every one as they could. The *Indians* thus repulsed from the second Order, retreated to the Third, but not daring to rely upon the Strength thereof, fled into the City with all imaginable haste; and having shut up their Gates, *Alexander*, with the Foot Forces he had with him, as far as they would serve for that purpose, caused them to be besieged; but the Wall thereof being of too large a Circuit, to be environ'd by such a Number, where the Line of the Foot ended (except the space of a certain Lake not far from the Walls) he fill'd up the Vacancy with Horse, and well knowing that the Lake was not of any great depth, he easily conjectur'd that the *Indians*, terrified with the loss they had already receiv'd, would endeavour to escape out of the City by Night; and indeed so it happen'd; for about the second Watch, many of them endeavouring silently to escape, fell in among the Horse-Guards, by whom the foremost of them were cut off; whereupon those who follow'd, perceiving the Disaster, and that the Lake was wholly guarded by the Horse, retreated back into the City. *Alexander* then surrounded the whole Town, except that part where the Lake prevented it, with a Rampart and Ditch, and plac'd a much stronger Party of Horse to guard the Lake, resolving at the same time, to draw his Engines forwards to batter the Walls, had he not receiv'd Intelligence, by some Deserters, that the *Indians* had fix'd their Resolution that very Night to steal out of the City, and escape by Way of the Lake, where the Rampart ended: He thereupon posted *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus* there, with three Thousand Targeteers, all the *Agrians*, and one Troop of Archers, and shew'd him the very Place where the Besieged would, in all probability, endeavour to force their Way through; giving him Orders,

that as soon as he perceiv'd them advance, he, with the Forces he had, should obstruct their March, and order a Trumpeter immediately to sound an Alarm ; at the hearing of which, all his Captains, with their Troops, were immediately to haste to the Place, whence the sound proceeded ; and for his part, he promised he would not be absent, but take his Share in the Engagement.



## C H A P. XXIV.

WHEN Alexander had given these Orders, *Ptolemy* gathered all the Carriages, which they had seiz'd from the Enemy, in the late Conflict, and plac'd them a-cross the Road, that he might add to the Difficulties of their Escape, who were to try that Way, by Night. The Rampart also which had not been before perfected, or not sufficiently strengthened, was compleated that very Night by the Soldiers. The Besieged then, about the fourth Watch, according to *Alexander's* Intelligence, setting open the Gates towards the Lake, endeavour'd to escape that Way ; but could neither be long conceal'd from the *Macedonian* Guards, nor from *Ptolemy*, who lay there. The Trumpeters hereupon, immediately sounded an Alarm, and *Ptolemy* with his Troops, ready arm'd and marshall'd, came to oppose them. Besides which, the Rampart, and the Carriages drawn a-cross, were no small hindrances to their farther Progress ; which unforeseen Difficulties they being unable to surmount, were forc'd to retire back into the City, leaving five Hundred of their Number slain upon the Spot. In the mean while, *Porus* arriv'd in the Camp, with all the Elephants he could procure, and five Thousand *Indians*. And now the Engines were got ready, and drawn forwards to the Wall ; but the

the *Macedonians* having thrown down a part of the Wall, which was of Brick, by undermining it, and Scaling-Ladders being fix'd, they mounted the Breach every where, and took the City by Assault. About seventeen Thousand <sup>1</sup> *Indians* were slain at the Sacking of that Place ; and above seventy Thousand taken, besides three Hundred Chariots, and five Hundred Horse. Of the *Macedonians*, not above one Hundred were slain during the whole Siege ; but the Number of the Wounded was vastly disproportionable, to those who fell, for they were no fewer than one Thousand two Hundred, among whom were sundry Commanders of Note, but especially *Lymachus*, one of the Body Guards. *Alexander* having then buried the Dead, according to the Custom of his Country, dispatch'd <sup>2</sup> *Eumenes*, his Scribe, with three Hundred Horse to those two Cities, which were in Confederacy with the *Sangalians*, to acquaint the Citizens, that *Sangala* was taken by Storm, but that no Harm should happen to them if they would receive a Garrison, any more than had to the other free Cities of *India*, which had voluntarily surrendered : But they having receiv'd more early Notice of the Overthrow of *Sangala*, and being terrified therewith, had abandon'd their Cities, and fled ; which *Alexander* knowing, he pursued hard after them. However, many escap'd, because the pursuit was begun late ; but those whom old Age, or Infirmitie had rendered in-

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<sup>1</sup> We have no Account in *Curtius*, of what Numbers fell on either Side, nor how many Prisoners, nor what quantity of Plunder was taken, he only closes this Narration with a wise Sentence, and straight proceeds to another.

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius lib. ix. cap. 1. 19.* says, " That *Eumenes* was dispatched, " with some Forces (but how many he tells us not) to reduce " others of the *Barbarians*, and that *Alexander* marched with the " rest to a strong City, where many were fled for Refuge. But as his Story and these of *Arrian* have no affinity with each other, I shall not trouble my Reader with making any Comparison between them.

capable of shifting for themselves, were glean'd up by the way, and slain, to the Number of about five Hundred. Then, laying aside all Thoughts of continuing the Pursuit, he return'd to *Sangala*, and laid it level with the Ground ; giving the Country round it to those free *Indians* who had voluntarily submitted to him. He then dispatch'd *Porus* and his Forces, to the Cities which he had newly gain'd, to furnish them with Garrisons, whilst he proceeded on his March to the River *Hyphasis*, with the rest of the Army, to reduce those *Indians* beyond it ; for he could not endure to think of putting an end to the War, so long as he could find Enemies.



### C H A P. XXV.

**ALEXANDER** had, moreover, heard, that the Country beyond *Hyphasis*, was Rich, and the Inhabitants thereof good Husbandmen, and excellent Soldiers, that they were govern'd by the Nobility,

**C**urtius tells us a quite contrary Story, *lib. ix. cap. 2. 2.* and gives us one *Pbegelas*, (Diodorus calls him *Phegeus*) whom he makes a Neighbouring Prince, for his Author " *Pbegelas*, he says, told " the King, that when he had pass'd the River *Hyphasis*, he had " eleven Days March through vast Deserts, and then he wou'd arrive at the Banks of the River *Ganges*, beyond which, dwelt the " *Gangarides* and *Parrhasians*, whose King was named *Agymmes* " (Diodorus calls him *Xandrames*, pag. 563.) who had block'd up " the Passes with 20000 Horse, and 200000 Foot, besides 2000 " Chariots, and what was most formidable of all, no fewer than 3000 " Elephants. All the Particulars of this Story seem'd incredible to " *Alexander*." — And so they do to me too, unless I had better Authority to vouch for the Truth of them. However, Curtius tells us, " *Alexander* call'd *Porus*, who confirm'd the Story." — That must be false ; for Arrian assures us he had dispatched *Porus* away, before he took his March toward that River. Plutarch, pag. 38. magnifies this Story much more than Curtius ; for he says, " The " *Gandaritans*,

Nobility, and liv'd peaceably, their Rulers imposing nothing harsh, nor unjust upon them; that they had a greater Store of Elephants than any other Part of India; and that the Elephants bred there, surpass'd those of all other Countries in Strength, as well as Stature. This News fir'd him with a fresh Ambition of proceeding forwards; but the Spirits of his Soldiers began to flag, when they found their King always attempting one Toll after another, and plunging himself and them into new Hazards, after he had got clear of the old Ones. They therefore agreed to hold a secret Consultation in the Camp, where some who were not so sanguine as the rest, contented themselves with deplored their hard Fortune; others protested they would follow their King no farther, even tho' he should command them. When *Alexander* came to understand this, for fear a Sedition should arise, and to prevent the Contagion from spreading farther, and gathering Strength, he call'd a Council of his commanding Officers, and spoke to this purpose; "Since I understand, O *Macedonians*, my Fellow-Soldiers, and Companions, that ye are unwilling to undertake Difficulties with me, with the same cheerfulness as formerly, I have therefore taken this Opportunity of calling you together in Council, that I may either persuade you to proceed further, or be persuaded by you to return; for if you neither approve of the Labours you have already undergone, nor of me, who have hitherto led you on, I have no need to continue my Dis-

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" *Gandaritans* and *Prasian*, were said to expect him with an Army of 80000 Horse, 200000 Foot, 8000 armed Charlots, and 6000 fighting Elephants." *Justin lib. xii. cap. 8.* tells us, "That *Alexander* overcome both these Nations, and worl'd their Armies." — But that could never be, for whoever they were, he came not near them. — If ever *Alexander* heard of any such Reports, I think they were no more than Stories, contrived on purpose to discourage the Soldiers, and force him to return, which we find they afterwards did.

“ course. 2 But if by these you now possess the  
 “ *Hellespont*, both *Pbrygia's*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlago-*  
 “ *mia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Pbænicia*,  
 “ with *Ægypt*, and that part of *Lybia*, which the  
 “ *Greeks* held: If by these you share the Sovereign-  
 “ ty of some part of *Arabia*, *Cælosyria*, *Mesopo-*  
 “ *tamia*, besides *Babylon* and *Susa*; if by these the  
 “ mighty Empires of *Persia* and *Media* be brought  
 “ under Subjection, and we have passed through the  
 “ *Caspian Streights*, and over Mount *Caucasus*, and  
 “ extended our Conquests beyond the River *Tanais*,  
 “ among the *Batarians*, and even to the *Hyrcanian*  
 “ Sea. If we have driven the *Scythians* out of their  
 “ Desarts; and caused the River *Indus*, the *Hydaspes*, the *Acesines*, and the *Hydraotes* to flow through  
 “ our Territories, why should we now delay to ex-  
 “ tend our Conquests yet further, and add *Hypbasis*  
 “ also, and the Countries beyond it, to the *Macedo-*  
 “ *nian Empire*? Or can you be afraid that any *Bar-*  
 “ *barians*, whom we may henceforth meet, should  
 “ give us an Overthrow, when all we have hitherto  
 “ found, have yielded to our Power? Some of their  
 “ own accord, others by being taken in Flight;  
 “ and others still have quite abandon'd their Coun-  
 “ tries, and left us peaceably to take Possession,  
 “ which we have either committed to the Govern-  
 “ ment of some of our Countrymen, or to those  
 “ who have become our Allies and Confederates.

2 Arrian and Curtius have each put a Speech into the Mouth of *Alexander* on this Occasion, expressing his extream Ambition of pushing on his Conquests still further; and another into that of *Cænus* in reply to it. As the Grounds they went upon were very different, their Speeches are as different, however tending to the same End. But as they contain few Matters of History, but what we have taken notice of elsewhere; and have but little Affinity with each other, I shall leave the Comparison between them to my Reader.

## C H A P. XXVI.

“ **I**FOR my Part, would propose no other End to  
 “ the Labours of a generous Mind, than the La-  
 “ bours themselves, which certainly lead to Glory  
 “ and Honour. But if any among you be solicitous  
 “ to know where we shall end this War, I answ're,  
 “ that we have but a small Part of the grand Con-  
 “ tinent to pass over, before we shall arrive at the  
 “ River *Ganges*, and the Eastern Ocean, which O-  
 “ cean (for it surrounds the Earth) you shall per-  
 “ ceive to joyn with the *Hyrcanian Sea*. Then, O  
 “ *Macedonians* and Friends, I will shew you, that  
 “ the *Indian Gulph* has a Communication with the  
 “ *Persian*, and the *Hyrcanian Sea*, with the *Indian*.  
 “ We will also fetch a Company in our Ships, from  
 “ the *Persian Gulph* to *Lybia*, beyond *Hercules's*  
 “ Pillars; and all *Lybia*, within those Limits, shall  
 “ be ours; as also all *Asia*; and by this means  
 “ the same Bounds which God has plac'd to the  
 “ Earth, will I place to our Empire. But if we  
 “ now return, many great and warlike Nations, be-  
 “ tween the River *Hypbasis*, and the Eastern Ocean,  
 “ and many also to the Northward, towards the  
 “ *Hyrcanian Sea*, bordering upon *Scythia*, will be  
 “ left behind unsubdued; for which Reason it is  
 “ much to be fear'd, that if we should return home,  
 “ those whom we have reduced, being not yet suf-  
 “ ficiently secured, may be incited to Revolt, by

Whether this was really spoke by *Alexander* to encourage his Soldiers, or the whole contrived by *Arrian*, it is undoubtedly an Error in Geography; and for any to say, that many Authors since that time, have asserted the same Thing, will be no Argument in its Defence.

“ those

“ those we have not visited, and then all our great  
“ Labours would be in vain: or, at least, we must  
“ attempt, by new Toils, to secure to our selves  
“ what we had gain'd by the old Ones: Where-  
“ fore, my dear Countrymen and Friends, let us  
“ push forwards; Toils and Dangers are the Re-  
“ wards of the Bold; a Life spent in virtuous Acti-  
“ ons, is pleasant; and Death is no ways terrible to  
“ those who have secur'd to themselves an immortal  
“ Glory. You cannot but know that our Progeni-  
“ tor had never arriv'd to such a pitch of Glory, as  
“ from a Mortal to be a God, nor even to be ac-  
“ accounted so, if he had loiter'd away his Time at  
“ Tirynthe; at Argos, or Peloponnesus, or Thebes. Nei-  
“ ther are the Labours of Bacchus (who is a God  
“ of a higher Rank than Hercules) few, or contemp-  
“ nible. But we have penetrated the Country far  
“ beyond the City *Nysa*; and the Rock *Aornus*,  
“ which defy'd the Force of *Hercules*, has submitted  
“ to our Power: Proceed therefore to add what re-  
“ mains in *Asia*; to what we have already gain'd; a  
“ small Conquest to a mighty One, unless you are  
“ already weary, or ashame'd of your former glori-  
“ ous Exploits: For what great or memorable Act  
“ had we done in Life, if we had, all this while, re-  
“ main'd content with our *Macedonian* Territories,  
“ uninur'd to Dangers; and only employ'd our Time  
“ in defending our own Province, or expelling the  
“ *Tbraciens*, the *Illyrians*, the *Triballi*, or the *Gre-  
“ ciens*; who enter'd our Dominions in an hostile Man-  
“ ner. If I, your General, had never shar'd with  
“ you in the Toils and Dangers you have under-  
“ gone, but remain'd Lazy and Unactive, well  
“ might your Hearts fail you, because the Labours  
“ were really yours, and others were to reap the  
“ Fruits of them: But as my Labours have ever been  
“ the same with yours, and our Dangers have been  
“ always equal, so the Rewards are equally distribut-  
“ ed; for all the Countries which we have subdu'd,  
“ are

“ are yours, you are the Gouvernours of them; I  
 “ have only the bare Title, and the greatest part of  
 “ Treasures which we have gain'd, even the Wealth of  
 “ almost all *Asia*, is already in your Possession: But  
 “ when *Asia* is entirely subdu'd, then, I hope, I shall  
 “ be able, not only to satisfy all your most sanguine  
 “ Hopes, but even to exceed them:—And when the  
 “ War is at an end, those who are inclin'd to return  
 “ into their own Country, I will freely dismiss, or  
 “ lead them back my self; and those who choose to  
 “ tarry behind, I will take care that the others shall  
 “ envy their Happiness.”

## C H A P. XXVII.

WHEN *Alexander* had made an end of speaking these, and many other Things to the same Purpose, a general Silence ensu'd; none daring openly to declare their Opinions against that of their King, tho' they would not consent to the reasonableness of the Proposal. And when he again press'd them freely to deliver their Minds, if any of them had any thing to say against what he had offer'd; the same Silence still continu'd, till, at last, *Cænus the Son of Pelemon*

<sup>1</sup> *Arrian* gives us here nothing at all improbable, concerning the Behaviour of the *Macedonians*, after the King had finished his Speech. But *Curtius*, who never suffers a Story to slip through his Fingers without some Embellishment, tells us, *lib. ix. cap. 3. 2.* “ That there first arose a general Murmur among them, and then “ a fighing, 'till at last their Grief was raised, to such an excessive “ height, that it discharg'd itself in such Showers of Tears, that “ the King, in spite of his late Wrath, could not forbear weeping “ too.”—A pretty Sight to see the great Conqueror of the World, the mighty Son of *Jupiter*, the Rival of *Bacchus* and *Her-cules*, sniveling, and putting his Fingers in his Eyes, on purpose to keep his Soldiers in Countenance,

took Courage, and spoke after this manner : 2 “ For  
 “asmuch, O King, as thou hast already declared thou  
 “ wilt not compel the *Macedonians*, but only endeavour  
 “ by Perswasions to induce them to march forwards :  
 “ I here

2 I design'd not to have made any Observations upon the Speeches on either side, but that which *Curtius* has made for *Cænus*, is so extraordinary, that 'tis impossible to pass it by without remark. At the very first he greets his Majesty thus, in the Name of the Soldiery. “ The Gods forbid, says he, *lib. ix. cap. 3. 5.* that we “ should harbour any disloyal Thoughts in our Breasts, and indeed “ they do forbid it,” — That was false, for they had been busily caballing just before, and holding secret Conferences how to frustrate his Designs; and *Arrian* assures us, that some of them were so sanguine herein, as to protest they would march no further, tho' he should lay his Commands upon them. — Then he proceeds, “ we your Soldiers have still the same Hearts and Affections for “ your Majesty we ever had, and are as ready to go any where to “ fight, to hazard our Lives, and with the loss of our Blood make “ your Name famous to Posterity. And therefore if you will persist in your Design, tho' unarm'd, nay, tho' naked, we are ready, “ in any Equipage, either to follow, or go before you.” — This is every fillable false too; for *Plutarch* assures us, *pag. 38.* “ That the last Battle with *Porus*, took off the Edge of the *Macedonian* Courage, and hindred their further Progres in *India*; “ for having, with much a-do, defeated him, who brought but “ 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horse into the Field, they thought they “ had reason to oppose *Alexander's* Design, &c.” — *Curtius* then proceeds, *cap. 3. 8.* “ We are now advanc'd almost to the “ End of the World, and you yet prepare an Expedition into another, and seek an *India* unknown to the *Indians* themselves.” — This is strange Stuff; but he had said something full as strange before; for he told his Sovereign, that “ They had traversed over “ so many Seas and Lands, that they knew all things in them better than the Natlyes themselves.” — He then goes on, “ You “ endeavour to rout People who live among wild Beasts and Serpents, out of their Dens and lurking Places, that you may carry “ your Victories further than the Sun ever saw.” — This is such a declaiming Rant, as could never have come into the Head of any but a Rhetorician. — Then he proceeds. — “ Our Darts, “ and Javelins are now grown pointles, and our Arrows are worn “ out; how many of us are there, who have not so much as a “ Corset, or a Horse left? — All this must be only Pretence, for they fought several times afterwards, and never complain'd. — “ We are fain, says he, to wear *Persian* Habits, for want of the “ convenience

“ I here presume, not to speak for those of my own  
 “ Rank (who have tasted, in a more than ordinary  
 “ manner, of thy Favours, and have many of us al-  
 “ ready receiv'd the Rewards of our Labours, and  
 “ are at all times ready to execute the Commands  
 “ thou art pleased to lay upon us) but for the Mul-  
 “ titude ; neither shall I so much study to deliver such  
 “ Things in my present Discourse, as may be grate-  
 “ ful to the Soldiery, as those which may be safe  
 “ for the present, and honourable to after Times.  
 “ Moreover my advanc'd Age, as well as the Dign-  
 “ ity of my Post, requires that I should not con-  
 “ ceal any thing which might redound to our Ad-  
 “ vantage ; and besides, the Toils, I have undergone,  
 “ and the Dangers I have boldly encountred, with-  
 “ out turning my Back upon them, exhort me to  
 “ declare my Sentiments freely. And by how much  
 “ the more, and the greater the Exploits have been,  
 “ which were perform'd by Thee, and those who ac-  
 “ companied Thee out of their own Country ; so  
 “ much the rather do I judge, that some Measure  
 “ should be set to our Toils and Hazards. For Thou  
 “ must needs perceive how great was the Multitude  
 “ of *Macedonians* and *Grecians* which set forth with  
 “ Thee in this Expedition, and how few of us are  
 “ now left. The *Thessalians*, indeed, when War  
 “ grew grevious to them, and their Courage be-  
 “ gan to abate, thou sufferedst to return home from  
 “ *Battria* ; but the rest of the *Grecians* are some of  
 “ them left in the Cities, which thou hast built, thereto  
 “ to remain againt their own Inclinations : Others,

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“ convenience of being supplied from Home, so that we have been  
 “ forced to degenerate into a foreign Mode.”— What a pure  
 Time would this have been for a Regiment of Taylors ! What rare  
 Wages might they have earned ? They might have cut themselves  
 out as great Estates by their Sheers, as the commanding Officers  
 did by their Swords. But I am quite weary with this Stuff ; the  
 Whole is of a Piece, and as such I shall submit it to my Readers.

“ who

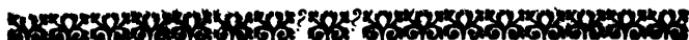
“ who have run through all Dangers with the Army;  
“ are either fallen in Battle, or render'd unservice-  
“ able by Wounds, or left behind in divers Parts of  
“ of *Asia*; but the far greatest part of all have perish'd  
“ by Diseases: And lastly, the few which still sur-  
“ vive, out of so great a Multitude, are neither so  
“ Strong nor Healthy in Body, nor so Sound and Vi-  
“ gorous in Mind, as heretofore. All these have  
“ a longing Desire (such as is imprinted in every  
“ one by Nature) once more to visit their Parents,  
“ Wives, Children, Friends, and native Soil: And  
“ notwithstanding many of them are rais'd to Ho-  
“ hours and Authority, and great Wealth, by thy  
“ especial Grace and Favour, yet sure they merit  
“ at least Forgiveness. But Thou, I presume, wilt not  
“ lead them into fresh Dangers against their Will,  
“ nor make any farther Use of those Men, whose  
“ Minds are already alienated from Military Affairs;  
“ rather, if it shall seem good to Thee, return Home,  
“ visit thy Mother; compose the unsettled State of  
“ *Greece*, and bear so many, and such eminent Vi-  
“ stories to thy own Country: Then may'st Thou  
“ set forth upon a new Expedition, either against  
“ those *Indians* to the Eastward, or if it shall please  
“ thee better, against the *Scythians*, who border up-  
“ on the *Euxine* Sea; or against *Carthage*, and the  
“ parts *Lybia*, beyond it. Then shall it be fully  
“ in thy own Power to lead the Army whithersoever  
“ thou desirest, and then shall other *Macedonians*  
“ be thy Followers; and thou shalt change those  
“ old Soldiers for young Ones: Those who are  
“ wearied out with War, for others Fresh and Vi-  
“ gorous, to whom War will be no Terror, be-  
“ cause of the alluring Hopes they will have of fu-  
“ ture Rewards. Nay, it is almost impossible to  
“ imagine they should not attend thee with the more  
“ Chearfulness, when they see those who were the  
“ Sharers of thy former Toils and Hazards, return  
“ Home raised to Riches from Poverty, and to  
“ Honours

“ Honour from Obscurity. However, O King, if  
“ any thing can be deem'd a more transcendent Vir-  
“ tue than the rest, it must be to preserve a due Mo-  
“ deration, in Prosperity. Thou art an Emperor,  
“ and at the Head of such an Army, what Enemy  
“ can be terrible to thee? But consider once for all,  
“ that the turns of Chance are sudden, and therefore  
“ to Mortals, however prudent, unavoidable.”

## C H A P. XXVIII.

THUS *Cænus* ended his Speech, and a general Heaviness sat upon the Faces of all present; many of them also shed Tears, which was a sufficient intimation to *Alexander*, that a further Progress in the War, was grievous to them; but that a speedy return into their own Country would be acceptable. However, he took Offence at *Cænus*'s freedom of Speech, and the silence of all the rest, and so dismiss'd the Assembly. But calling them again the next Day, without so much as endeavouring to dissemble his Rage, he protested that he would proceed on his intended Expedition, but would compel no *Macedonian* to attend him; for he doubted not but he should find those who would follow him of their own accord. However, they who were resolved to return, were at their Liberty, and might go tell their Friends at home, that they left their King in the midst of his Enemies. When he had thus said, he retir'd into his Tent, and refus'd to speak to any of his Friends, for three whole Days, expecting (as it often happens in an Army) that some change of Mind should have happen'd among the *Macedonians* in that time, and that they might have been soften'd by Persuasions. But he perceiv'd the same sullen Silence still to reign among them, and understood that they were violently enrag'd against him,

him, but that their Resolutions remain'd fix'd. However, he offer'd Sacrifices for his safe Progress, as *Ptolemy* assures us; but when the Entrails shew'd Omens wholly & inauspicious, he call'd his Friends together, especially those who were the most ancient, and the best establish'd in his Favour; and declar'd, That since all things conspir'd to hinder his further Progress, he was determin'd to return.



## C H A P. XXIX.

**T**H E S E Words were no sooner catch'd by the Multitude, but a mighty Shout ensued, as an Expression of their exceeding Joy; some could not refrain from Tears of Gladness; others rush'd forwards to the Royal Pavillion, and there wish'd their King all future Success; because he who was invincible to others, had suffer'd himself to be overcome by them. Then having divided his Army, he ordered Twelve <sup>1</sup> Altars

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<sup>2</sup> I wonder not at all that the Omens were inauspicious here. All the chief Officers were eagerly bent, and resolute to return Home; and no doubt but the King found it impossible to persuade them to march further; for which Reason he was under a Necessity, either to submit to the Remonstrances of his Soldiers, or the Decrees of the Gods, which he was to know by the Inspection of the Entrails. To submit to the Remonstrances of his Soldiers he thought below him; and therefore, in all probability, chose to have Sacrifices offered for his safe Passage; and as he had an Influence over his Priest, and his Priest could make the Gods speak what he pleased, it was deemed the most politick Step to publish it abroad, That the Omens were inauspicious, and the Gods denied him a safe Conduct any further, for which Reason he chose to return.

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* barely mentions these Twelve Altars, *lib. ix. cap. 3. 19.* and only tells us, "That they were built of hewn Stone, as Monuments of his Expedition." *Diodorus*, *lib. xvii. pag. 563.* says they were fifty Cubits high. *Plutarch*, adds, *pag. 38.* That "even in his Time, the Kings of the *Persians* hightly reverencing them, used

tars to be erected, equal in height to so many fortified Towers, but far exceeding them in bulk: On these he offered Sacrifices to the Gods, and gave them Thanks for making him thus far Victorious, and consecrated those as eternal Monuments of his Labours. After this, he exhibited 2 Gymnick and Equestrian Exercises, and added all that Country, as far as the River *Hypbafis*, to the Dominions of *Porus*. He then return'd to the River *Hydraotes*, and thence to *Acesines*, where he found the City, which he had left *Hephaestion* to build, already finish'd; into which, having invited all the neighbouring Inhabitants, who were willing, to reside; and leaving there such of his Mercenaries as were unfit for Travel, he began to prepare every thing necessary for a Voyage to the main Ocean. At this Juncture *Arsaces*, Governor of the Province next to *Abissares*'s Terri-

“ used to come over the River to offer sacrifice upon them after the “ *Græcian Manner*.”—If this be true, what *Curtius* wrote before must be false; for he asserted, that it was no less than eleven Days Journey to the Country of the *Præsians*, or *Parrbafians*, through a vast Desert. That *Curtius's Story* is false, the beginning of *Alexander's Speech* makes pretty plain; and that *Plutarch* in this was imposed upon by those who imagined that *Alexander* had pass'd as far as the *Ganges*, is very probable, because, then, they might have sacrificed upon these Altars immediately upon passing over the River; but the Altars were built upon the Bank of the River *Hypbafis*, and I cannot find that he ever pass'd over it.

2 That the King always exhibited these Sports on any solemn Occasion, is evident from abundance of Instances: However, no Author, except *Arrian*, takes notice of them here; but instead of them, *Curtius* tells us, *lib. ix. cap. 3. 19.* That “ he caused the Entrenchments of his Camp to be enlarged, and Beds to be left far larger than the ordinary Size of Men; that, by this Imposture, he might induce Posterity to believe miraculous things of himself and his Army.” *Plutarch* adds, *p. 38.* “ that he left Bits of Bridles of a vast bigness; and *Seneca* adds, monstrous Shoes.”— However, he needed not have taken so much pains to impose upon after-Ages that way. The monstrous Lies, and romantick Stories which were spread abroad by many of his Followers, concerning that Expedition, were of more force to mislead after-Ages, than if he had extended his Camp from thence to the *Ganges*, and left Bedsteads as big as Brewers Coolers, Shoes like Childrens Cradles, and Bits of Bridles as thick as the Anchor of a third Rate Man of War.

stories, and the Brother of *Abissares*, with many of their Friends, came to *Alexander*, bringing divers rich and valuable Gifts, and, among the rest, thirty Elephants, as a Present from King *Abissares*, and declar'd, that he himself would have attended, in Person, but was hinder'd by Sicknes; the Truth of which being confirm'd by Messengers dispatch'd thither by *Alexander*, he was easily persuaded to allow *Abissares* to hold his Power under him, and join'd *Arsaces* as a Co-partner in his Government; and having then fix'd the annual Tributes they were to pay, he again offer'd Sacrifices upon the Banks of the River *Acesines*, which River having passed over, he came to 3 *Hydaspes*; where, what Parts soever of the two Cities *Nicæa* and *Bucephalia*, the violence of the Rains had wash'd away, he took care to see fully repair'd by his Soldiers; which being finish'd, he set himself to other Affairs relating to the Government of that Country.

3 *Curtius* has here copied an Error from his Master *Diodorus*, for he not only says, that *Alexander* built his Fleet, and sail'd down the River *Acesines*, but that he ordered the two Cities, *Nicæa*, and *Bucephalia*, to be built upon the Banks thereof, and speaks of the building them, as if they were ordered at his Return; whereas I have not only the Testimony of the whole Stream of Writers against him, but also his own; for *lib. ix. cap. 1. 6.* he says, " The King " order'd two Cities to be built, on each Bank of the River which " he last pass'd over." — And he was not then arrived at the *Acesines*. " And much Timber growing upon the Neighbouring " Mountains, says he, he gave Orders to cut it down, to build " him a Fleet." — Now, where should the Fleet be built, but near the Place where the Timber grew? And where should the Soldiers find the Fleet, but where it was built, and lay ready for them? Besides, to put it out of all doubt, *Strabo* assures us, *lib. xvi. pag. 1023. Edit. Casaub.* " That *Alexander* cut down Firr, and Pine, and " Cedar Trees in abundance, and fitted out a Fleet in the River " *Hydaspes*, near the Cities which he had built, on each side of that River, where *Porus* was overcome, and where *Bucephalus* died.

The End of the Fifth Book.



# ARRIAN'S *History* O F ALEXANDER'S *Expedition.*

## BOOK VI.

### CHAP. I.

WEN Alexander had now built, and made ready many *Triremes*, and *Biremes*, with several Vessels for carrying Horses, and all other Things necessary for conveying his Army, upon the Banks of the *Hydaspes*, he resolv'd to sail down that River, 'till he came into the Ocean. And whereas he had seen <sup>1</sup> Crocodiles

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* assures us, *lib. viii. cap. 9. 9.* That "the River *Dyardenes* in the further Parts of *India*, breeds not only Crocodiles like the *Nile*, but Dolphins, and several other monstrous Fish unheard of elsewhere." And *Nearchus* in *Strabo, lib. xv.* says, That Crocodiles

codiles in the River *Indus*, and in no other, except the *Nile*; and Beans growing upon the Banks of the River *Acesines*, such as *Egypt* produces; and had heard that *Acesines* lost itself in the River *Indus*, he straightway suppos'd, that he had found out the Head of the *Nile*: For he thought it must rise in that Country, and after having run through the vast Desarts, lose its first Name; but coming again into a Land well inhabited, it was call'd *Nilus* by the *Ethiopians* and *Egyptians* dwelling in these Parts (in the same manner as *Homer* calls the *Nilus* by the Name of *Egyptus*, within the Dominions of *Egypt*) and thence flow'd into the *Mediterranean Sea*: Wherefore, in a Letter which he wrote to his Mother *Olympias* concerning the Country of *India*, he told her, among other things, that he believ'd he had found the Fountain of the *Nile*, grounding his Conjecture upon the slight and trivial Circumstances before-mention'd: But when he made a more narrow search into the Affair, he was assured, by the Inhabitants, that the River *Hydaspes* lost its Waters in the *Acesines*, and the *Acesines* its Waters and Name in the *Indus*; which River discharg'd its Stream by two Mouths into the Ocean, very far from the Country of *Egypt*; he then caus'd that Passage, concerning the *Nile*, to be expung'd out of his Letter; and having determin'd to sail down to the Ocean by the Course aforesaid, he order'd all Preparations to be made accordingly: The Rowers and Steerers of his Vessels were carefully chosen out from among the *Phænicians*, *Cyprians*, *Carians* and *Egyptians*, who follow'd his Army, and were fit for that purpose.

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codiles are found in the *Hydaspes*.—This is not unlikely, the River *Hydaspes* flowing into the *Acesines*, and that, into the *Indus*. But as to *Curtius*'s Crocodiles, we are so far from finding them, that we cannot so much as find the River; and 'till we can find the River, it will be but lost Labour to look for the Crocodiles. The Dolphins, which he reckons among his monstrous and unheard of Fish, were always common enough, and never reckoned otherwise, by any but himself.

## C H A P. II.

**A**BOUT this time : *Cænus*, one of his most intimate Friends, and faithful Companions, departed this Life; whose Obsequies were celebrated with all the Solemnity that the time would allow: Then calling a Council of his Friends, at which all the Embassadors of the *Indian* Princes were present, he constituted *Porus* King over all the Parts of *India*, he had conquer'd, which was no less than <sup>2</sup> seven Nations, containing above two Thousand Cities: Af-

<sup>1</sup> When *Alexander* had returned to the River *Hydaspes*, where his Fleet was built, and launched, and then lay ready for sailing, *Cænus* died. This is evident, and confirmed by all Authors, who have treated upon this Subject, except *Curtius*, and his Master *Diodorus*; for he also says, that the Fleet was built upon the Banks of the *Acesines*, and that *Cænus* died there. But in the last Article, *Curtius* contradicts himself, and in the first, every body else. However, after all, he certainly forgets himself strangely, to make *Cænus* die here in *India*, *lib. ix. cap. 111. 20.* and afterwards to bring him to life again in *Europe*, *lib. x. cap. 1. 43.* Certainly no Man can be reasonably said to be alive in *Europe*, who has been actually dead, two Years before, in *India*. His Commentators have been dabbling with him here, as they have, every where else, and endeavouring to hide his Nakedness by their own Patch-Work Coverings. But his Shame will shew itself, in spite of all Disguises. One says, if the Word *Cænus* were erased, there, all the Paragraph would be right. Another is not only for putting out *Cænus*, and substituting *Antipater*, but making several other Alterations, and lastly, transplanting the whole Paragraph from *lib. x.* to the entrance upon the sixth Book. See *Freinb. ad lib. x. cap. 34.*

<sup>2</sup> *Plutarch* tells us, *p. 38.* "That he bestowed, upon *Porus*, a large Province of some free People whom he had newly conquered, which consisted of several Nations, and contained 5000 considerable Towns, besides abundance of Villages."—Had *Plutarch* undertaken to have wrote compleat Histories, none would perhaps have been more exact in Particulars; as that was not his Busines, we cannot expect accuracy from him.

ter this, he divided his Forces in this manner; the Targeteers, Archers, and *Agrians*, and some of the Horse, he took on board the Fleet, with him: *Cateretus* was order'd to march along the Bank, on the right Hand, with part of the Horse and Foot; and *Hephæstion* on the left Hand, with the rest, being the best, and greatest part, besides two Hundred Elephants. They were to make all imaginable haste to the Kingdom of <sup>3</sup> *Sopitus*; and *Pbilip*, (Governour of a Province beyond the River *Indus*, adjacent to *Bætria*) was commanded to follow them in three Days with all his Forces. The *Nisæan* Horse was sent home. *Nearchus* was appointed Admiral over the whole Navy, and *Onesicritus*, Captain of that single Ship, where the King was; who, notwithstanding, in his History of *Alexander*, falsely assumes the Title of

<sup>3</sup> *Curtius* calls him *Sopitis*, contrary to *Strabo*, *lib. xv. pag. 1024.* *Diodorus*, *lib. xvii. pag. 561.* and *Arrian*: And *Raderus* thinks he gave him that Name in respect to his Wisdom, though *Freinbe-mius* will not allow him to have been Master of so much acuteness. However, *Curtius* has placed this Expedition against *Sopitis*, before the Armies Embarkation. He tells us abundance of the good Qualities of the Inhabitants, and gives us an account of "some notable Hunting-Dogs, in that Country, *lib. ix. cap. 1. 31.*" "which have a strange antipathy to Lyons, four of which, being "let loose upon a Lyon, an Officer took one of them, which had "fastened upon the Beast, and cut off one of his Legs, then another, and continued still to hack and mangle him, till he had killed "him, yet was the Dog so obstinate that he would not quit his "hold, but left his Teeth sticking in the Beast." This I humbly submit to the decision of a lawful Convention of *White-Chapel* Butchers, and others of our *Bear-Garden* Gentry. However, immediately after he has told us this Story (which has no improbability in it, and which is confirmed by *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, *Ælian*, *Pliny* and *Phætarch*) a sudden Qualm comes over him, and he adds, "I write more than he believes; for, I can neither endure to "affirm any thing confidently, when I doubt of the Truth thereof, nor deprive my Readers of what I have heard." This Paragraph, which he has thrown away here to no manner of purpose, would have done him excellent service, had he kept it 'till the Conclusion of his Book, for then he might have told, as many Lies more, and have brought himself cleverly off, at last.

Admiral.

Admiral, when he was, in reality, no more than Commander of the Royal Galley. The Number of Triremes which composed this Navy (according to *Ptolemy's Account*, which I chiefly adhere to) was about Eighty ; but the whole Number of Vessels, those employ'd for Horses and others, built then, as well as before, amounted to near two Thousand.

### C H A P. III.

ALL Things being then ready for his intended Voyage, the Army, about break of Day, embark'd on Board. He, in the mean while, by the direction of his Augurs, offer'd Sacrifices to the Gods, and to the River *Hydaspes*, after the Custom of his Country, and then entring his Ship, stood upon the Prow, and pouring a Libation out of a Golden Cup, invocated the *Acesines*, as well as the *Hydaspes*, being inform'd that that River flow'd into the *Hydaspes* not far from thence ; as also the *Indus*, because both these, when united, fall into that River : And when he had, afterwards, sacrific'd to *Hercules* and *Hammon*, and other Gods, according to his Custom, he immediately order'd a Signal to be given, by sound of Trumpet, for the Ships to move, and they moved accordingly. For it was already agreed at what distance the Store-Ships should keep from those which carried the Horses, and these, from the Ships of War, lest if they proceeded without due Order, they should be dash'd one against another : nor were the best Sailors suffer'd to go out of their Ranks, nor the slowest, to lag behind. It was wonderful to hear the clashing of the Oars of such a mighty Number of Ships at the same instant, as also the Shouts of the Rowers, and the Commands of their Officers, which the Banks, often higher than the Ships themselves, and the thick

Woods on each side the River, so increased by compression, and repercussion, that the *Barbarians*, on all Hands, were struck with the utmost Surprize thereat ; and what added to their Wonder, was, their seeing Horses embark'd on Board a Fleet, which was so unusual a Sight (for the Expedition of *Bacchus* into that Country, was by Land) that they follow'd the Ships a vast way down the River. As many also of the more remote *Indians* as were in Friendship with *Alexander*, and heard the clashing of the Oars, and the shouts of the Rowers, came flocking to the Banks of the River, and sung Songs after their Country Manner. For the *Indians*, above all other Nations, have delighted in Musick and Dancing, ever since the time that *Dionysus* and his *Bacchanals* were among them.



## C H A P. IV.

**T**HE Fleet, sailing in the above-mention'd Order, arriv'd, on the third Day, at the Place where *Alexander* had order'd *Craterus* and *Hephæstion* to encamp on each side of the River, where they tarried

One might think, that if *Curtius* wrote never so little about this famous Voyage of *Alexander*, down the *Hydæpes*, he might be careful to give us what was Truth ; but by reading his Relation thereof, a Man would almost be tempted to believe, that he wrote Falsities on purpose. “ *Alexander*, he says, *lib. ix. cap. 3. 24.* having given Orders that the Elephants and Baggage, and other cumbersome Things, should be convey'd after him, by Land; sailing down the Stream, about forty Furlongs each Day ” — This is every Tittle faſe ; for first, *Craterus* and *Hephæstion*, to whom the Elephants were committed, with all the Forces under their command, were two Days march before the Fleet, almost at the very first setting out. Secondly, 'Tis much more probable, that the greatest part of the Baggage was put on Board, it being far easier to con-

tarried two Days, to wait for *Pbilip*, with the rest of the Army; whom he forthwith dispatch'd with the Forces which he brought, to the *Acesines*, commanding him to lead his Troops along the Bank of that River. He also, once more, dispatch'd *Craterus* and *Hephaestion* upon a fresh Expedition, and mark'd out the Rout they were to take. He, in the mean time, prosecuted his Voyage down the River *Hydaspes*, which he never found less than twenty Furlongs wide: and where-ever he approach'd the Banks, and came on Shore, the *Indians* of those Places either paid him a voluntary Obedience, or were reduc'd by force of Arms. Then he steer'd directly against the *Malli* and *Oxydrace*, having receiv'd Intelligence, that the Inhabitants of these Countries were both Numerous and War-like, and that they had secur'd their Wives and Children in fortify'd Places, with a design to meet him and his Forces in the Plain, and give him Battle; and he made so much the more haste thither, because he hop'd to crush them, before they could come together in a Body, for as yet, they were busied in making Preparations for War. He therefore mov'd thence, and on the fifth Day, came to the place where the *Hydaspes* flows into the River *Acesines*; and the Banks being close, and the Channel narrow, where these

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vey it by Water, than by Land. Thirdly, Had they sailed no more than forty Furlongs each Day, they had not reached the Island of *Pattala* at the Mouth of the River *Indus*, in seven Months, as *Plutarch*, p. 40. *Edit.* *Steph.* tells us they did; nor in ten neither, according to *Strabo's* Account, *lib. xv.* even tho' they had continued their Course every Day, which we find they did not; for they went often on Shore, and made several Excursions; and tarried sometimes in one place, a great while together. For these Reasons *Freinsheimius* imagines it should have been four Hundred Furlongs, instead of Forty, which makes Fifty Miles: But had he consider'd that the Army, on each side the River, was to keep pace with the Fleet, perhaps he would have thought fifty English Miles too far to march in a Day, especially when they were to continue their March for several Days together.

two Rivers join, the 2 Current is, by that means, extreamly rapid, and the prodigious Eddies, caus'd by the rebounding Waters, make such a loud Noise as is heard in places at a vast distance. Those things were

2 *Curtius* tells us a strange Story of a Citadel, *lib. ix. cap. 4. 8.* Which, he says, " was built at the Confluence of three of the greatest Rivers in *India*, except *Ganges*, (viz.) the *Hydaspes*, *Acesines*, and *Indus*." — Where he had this account, is not known, because his great Oracle *Diodorus* says no such thing: However, that it is false, is apparent; for tho' the *Hydaspes* falls into the *Acesines* here, yet the *Acesines* loses its Waters in the River *Indus*, a vast way below: And that he meant this meeting of the *Acesines* and *Hydaspes* is certain, because he adds, That " the meeting of so many Rivers causes a very rough Water, which rises in Waves like the Sea; by the Violence of which, such heaps of Sand and Mud are cast up, that the Channel is forced into a narrow space; so that the Mariners seeing the Waves come rolling so fast upon them, and their Vessels so violently beaten by them, both a-head, and on each side, began to pull in toward the Shore; but their Endeavours were prevented, partly by their Fear, and partly by the rapidity of the Rivers; so that two of their biggest Ships sunk before their Eyes, and the lesser Ones being no longer governable, were, by good luck, driven a-ground without any damage." — He afterwards makes the Royal Gally in great Danger; and the King himself just upon the point of jumping over Board, into the Water; but that is no more than a Rhetorical Flourish; and as for all the rest, it bears a certain glimmering Ray, or faint Resemblance of Truth, and that is the most that can be said of it: For, in the first place where the Channel is narrow, the Water cannot rise up into Waves, as he there intimates, it being either the great breadth and depth of the Water, which causes the Wind to hoist it up, with such violence, or the meeting of the Wind and Tide, but no Tide comes near that place. *Arrian* has ascribed this, justly, to the Eddies, which are always the most violent, where the Channel is narrow, especially if the Course of the River be not streight. Secondly, *Curtius* has stumbled upon the right, by meer chance, when he says, *lib. ix. cap. 4. 11.* " The King's Vessel fell among the rapid Whirl-pools, where being intangled, &c." But if he had been endued with one Ounce of Judgment, he would have consider'd that Eddies or Whirl-pools are caused by the violence of the Stream, in a crooked Channel, or the confluence of Rivers, confined in narrow Banks, as was the case here; whereas Waves are rais'd by the Winds, beating strong upon a wide or deep Lake, or River; or the meeting of Wind and Tide, as has been intimated.

were told to *Alexander* and his Soldiers, by the Inhabitants, a long time before they approach'd them, that their Surprize might be the less; notwithstanding which, when they drew nigh, the rushing Noise of the two uniting Streams, so fill'd the Ears of the Rowers, that they laid down their Oars, not by any particular Order, but because their Commanders themselves, astonish'd at an Object so strange, and full of Horror, ceas'd to give necessary Directions.



## C H A P. V.

BUT when they reassured their Courage, the Masters of the Ships order'd the Rowers to use their utmost Strength, to get out of these Streights, and by the force of their Oars, break the violence of the Waters, lest they should be suck'd in, and swallow'd up by the Eddies. Some Vessels, indeed, of a round Form, which happen'd to be thus drawn in, receiv'd no other Damage, besides the extream Fright of the Crews they contain'd, and immediately continu'd their Course; but the long Ships, whose Sides were not so strong as to endure the Force of the contending Waves, receiv'd much more harm in the Conflict, and especially the *Biremes*, whose lower Bank of Oars, was but a little above the Surface of the Water; for when they were hurried, with a full Broad-side, into the Eddy, and could not lift up their Oars, they were broke by the fury of the Waves; Many of them were shatter'd in this manner; two

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timated before. Thirdly, Whereas *Curtius* says, That "two of the biggest Ships, of the whole Fleet, sunk before their Eyes." I would ask what sort of Ships these were? *Diodorus* and *Arrian* call them only two long Vessels, and so, in all probability, would *Curtius* too, had he not thought the other sounded better, and as for Truth, he did not much regard it.

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were dash'd in pieces against each other, and most of the Soldiers, which were on Board, perish'd. But when the Channel began to open, the Stream to run smoother, and the Eddies to be less violent, *Alexander* caus'd his Fleet to steer towards the Shore, on the right Hand, where was the best Shelter, it being a sort of a Bay, which a Rock made by shooting out into the River: There, he gather'd his shatter'd Vessels together, and took care of the few who were found alive, on Board; then having refitt'd, he order'd *Nearchus* to proceed in his Course, to the Country of the *Malli*. He, in the mean while, making an Excursion into the Territories of the *Barbarians*, who refused to submit to his Power, crush'd them, that they might not be able to assist the *Malli*, and then return'd to his Fleet, where he found *Craterus*, *Hephaestion*, and *Ptolemy*, with all their Forces. Then having convey'd his Elephants and *Polyperchon*'s Troops, with the Equestrian Archers, and *Ptolemy* across the River, and given the Command of them to *Craterus*, he sent away *Nearchus*, his Admiral, with Orders to sail down the River, to be three Days March before the Army. The rest of his Forces he divided into three Parts, ordering *Hephaestion* with his Party, to march five Days before him, that if any should fly away at his Approach, and betake themselves to the utmost Limits of the Country for safety, they should fall into the Hands of *Hephaestion*. *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, with his Forces, was order'd to tarry three Days behind him, that who-ever fled from him, and got behind his Army, shou'd be surpriz'd by *Ptolemy* and his Party. He also order'd those, who went before, that when they arriv'd at the Confluence of the Rivers *Acesines* and *Hydronotes*, they should wait for his coming, and 'till *Ptolemy* and *Craterus*, with their Parties, also arriv'd.



## C H A P. VI.

THEN, taking with him the Targeteers, Archers, *Agrians*, and *Python's* Troop, which consisted of those call'd the Auxiliary Foot, with the Equestrian Archers, and half the Auxiliary Horse, he march'd through a desert Country, against the *Malli*, and the first Day, pitch'd his Tents on the Banks of a small Rivulet, about an hundred Furlongs distant from the River *Acesines*: Having there allow'd his Troops a little time for Refreshment, and Rest, he order'd every one to fill all his Vessels with Water; which done, he continu'd his March, the remaining part of that Day, and all Night, and early the next Morning arriv'd at a City, whither many of the *Malli* had fled for Refuge; and this was about four Hundred Furlongs distant from the *Acesines*. The *Malli*, never once imagining that *Alexander* would attempt to march through such a desolate Country, were all unarm'd and scatter'd about the Fields, whom therefore, he surpriz'd, on a sudden, and slew many before they could prepare for a Defence: The rest fled into the City, and shut their Gates. Whereupon, he immediately surrounded the Walls with his Horse,

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1 *Curtius* has entirely omitted this whole Chapter; for I cannot find any Passage in his History, which has the least Resemblance with it, unless he means these People by his *Sobians*, *lib. ix. cap. 4. 1.* where he says, “*Alexander* landed his Forces, and marched 250 Furlongs up the Country; which, when he had laid waste, he took the Capital City thereof.”— But his Description is so loose and general, that it may almost serve for any other March, or any Siege, as well as that for which it was designed. I shall therefore draw no Inferences from a Comparison between any such Passages, in the two Authors which seem to quadrate with one another, because I cannot be sure they both treat of the same Action,

for his Foot were not yet come up ; but when they arriv'd, he dispatch'd *Perdiccas* with his own, and *Clitus's* Horse, besides the *Agrians*, to hast to another City of the *Malli*, into which a great Body of *Indians* had fled for safety ; and withal order'd them only to block them up, but by no means attempt to Storm the Place 'till he arriv'd : He warn'd them, however, to take care that none should escape out of the City, to spread the Story of his arrival through the Country. He then began to assault the City, whereupon the *Barbarians* forsook the Walls, being assur'd they could not hold the Place out any time. However, many were slain in the Attack, and many more Wounded, and render'd unservicable ; upon which they abandon'd the City, and retir'd into the Castle ; and that, as being seated upon an Eminence, difficult of Acces ; they held for some time : But when the *Macedonians* press'd them on all Hands, and *Alexander* himself push'd on the Siege with Vigour, the Castle was carry'd by Storm, and the *Barbarians* who had fled thither, to the Number of two Thousand, were all slain. *Perdiccas* marching to the City, which he was commanded to besiege, found it quite dismantled : But when he came to understand that the Inhabitants had not been long fled, he immediately resolv'd to pursue them ; and sending his light Horse after them, with all imaginable Expedition, they overtook very many, and slew them ; the rest betook themselves to the neighbouring marshy Places, and thereby sav'd their Lives.



## C H A P. VII.

ALEXANDER having allow'd his Soldiers some time for Refreshment and Rest, about the first Watch of the Night set forwards, and marching hard all that Night, came to the River *Hydrates*, about Day-light, and understanding that some Parties of the <sup>1</sup> *Malli* were just passing the River, he immediately attack'd them, and slew many; and having pass'd the River himself, with his Forces, in pursuit of those who had gain'd the further side, he kill'd vast Numbers of them, and took many Prisoners. However, some of them escap'd, and betook themselves, for safety, to a certain Town, well fortify'd, both by Art and Nature. Alexander waited for the arrival of his Foot, and then dispatch'd *Python* against them, with his own Troop, and two Cohorts of Horse, who gaining the Place at the first Assault, took all Prisoners, whom they slew not, and soon after return'd to the Camp. Alexander then led his Army against a certain City of the <sup>2</sup> *Bracmans*, where, he heard, another Body of the *Malli* had fled: When he arriv'd there, he drew his Forces every where close

<sup>1</sup> We are here told by *Curtius*, lib. ix. cap. 4. 5. That "another Nation (but who, he names not) had placed forty Thousand Foot on the Rivers side." — By which River he must undoubtedly mean the *Acesines*; but we may either pardon, or pass, by his Geographical Errors, if we would abstain from others. — These "were placed there to oppose him, notwithstanding which, he pass'd the River, and forced them to fly into a walled Town, which he took by Storm; putting all the Men to the Sword, and selling the rest."

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* has given us some loose Hints of this Action; for "Alexander, he says, lib. ix. cap. 4. 6. going to force another City, was repulsed, and lost many of his Men." — But how many he

close up to the Wall, whereupon the Defendants seeing their Walls undermined, and themselves gall'd with Darts from the *Macedonians*, aban-

he tells us not.— However, when the Townsmen saw that he ob-  
 ““ finately resolved to continue the Siege, despairing of Safety,  
 ““ they set fire to their Houses, and burnt themselves, and their  
 ““ Wives and Children.” Then, after two or three unnecessary  
 Inferences, he proceeds to shew us, *lib. ix. cap. 4. 8.* “ That there  
 ““ was a Citadel which the Flames had not touched, whose situa-  
 ““ tion was remarkable for the three greatest Rivers in *India* which  
 ““ surrounded it.”— This must be false, for, in the first place,  
 the Townsmen would never have burnt themselves, with their Wives  
 and Children, in the Town, and have left the Citadel untouched;  
 That was the last *Asylum*, or place of Strength for them to re-  
 tire to, in their greatest Necessity, when the Town was no longer  
 tenable. But, says some Body, perhaps they could not retire to  
 it; because *Curtius*, immediately afterwards, adds, that *Alexander*  
 attempted to sail round it, and it being so environed with Water,  
 the Town and Citadel might have no Communication with each  
 other. To which I answer, That *Curtius*'s Description of this Ci-  
 tadel is false on several Accounts: For first, The three great Rivers  
 which he there talks of, do not meet together at all, as has been  
 shewed before. Secondly, To talk of a Citadel, which has no Com-  
 munication with the City, to which it belongs, is Non-sense. It  
 might as well have been placed at fifty Miles distance from it. Thirdly,  
*Arrian* has plainly told us, That the Citadel had a Communica-  
 tion with the City, and that the Citizens retired to it, and set it,  
 and not the City, on fire, when they could not keep it any longer.  
 And lastly, The Citadel itself was so far from being seated at the  
 Confluence of all the three Rivers, he there mentions; that it was  
 not near any of them, it being situate beyond the River *Hydriatis*;  
 and instead of three great Rivers, had not, in all probability, one  
 River near it. *Curtius*, next, proceeds to give us an Account of a  
 Sedition which arose among the Soldiers against *Alexander*, where,  
 among other things, they complained, *lib. ix. cap. 4. 18.* That  
 ““ He had drawn them beyond the very Stars, and Sun, and forced  
 ““ them to advance to those Places, which Nature had removed out  
 ““ of Sight. That Mists, and Darkness, and a perpetual Night  
 ““ brooded upon the Face of the Deep. That the Sea swarmed  
 ““ with Monsters; its Waters were immovable, and that there Na-  
 ““ ture breathed her last.”— This ridiculous, senseless, and in-  
 coherent Stuff could never have dropt from the Pen of a grave  
 Historian, or one who had the least Notion of Geography. Most  
 of his Commentators have taken notice of this Place, particularly  
 Mr. *Le Clerc*, in the Criticism prefixed to this Work, for which rea-  
 son, I shall say no more about it.

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don'd the City, and fled to the Castle, hoping to defend themselves there; and a few of the *Macedonians* too rashly attempting to pursue, they turn'd back upon them, and slew Twenty Five of them, and beat the rest back. In the mean while *Alexander* lost no Time, but order'd his Scaling-Ladders to be fix'd to the Castle Walls, and the Walls to be undermin'd; which done, when one of the Towers fell down, and a part of the adjoining Wall was shatter'd, and afforded an easy Entrance; he first mounted the Breach himself, and attempted to storm the Castle, upon which, the *Macedonians*, ashame'd at their backwardness, one after another, climb'd over the Wall. Thus was the Castle won; however some of the *Indians* seeing the Place ready to be taken, set fire to their own Houses, and perish'd in the Flames: Others were slain in the Assault: About five Thousand of them fell during the Siege of that City; and, so great was their Valour, that few came alive into the Enemies Hands.



## C H A P. VIII.

**H**AVING tarry'd one Day there, to refresh his Army, he then directed his March against others of the same Nation, who, he was inform'd, had abandon'd their Cities, and retir'd into the Deserts; and, taking another Days Rest, on the next, he commanded *Python*, and *Demetrius*, a Captain of a Troop of Horse, with the Forces they then had, and a Party of light-arm'd Foot, to return immediately to the River, and if they found any of those, who had taken Shelter in the adjacent Woods, to put them to the Sword, if they refus'd to surrender. This they accordingly perform'd, and many *Indians* were there Slain. In the mean while, he led his Forces to

the Capital City of the *Malli*, whither, he was inform'd, many of the Inhabitants of other Cities had fled for their better Security. But even this Place was dismantled by the *Indians* (upon *Alexander's* approach) who crossing the River *Hydraotis*, drew up their Forces upon the Bank thereof, which was steep and difficult of Ascent, as tho' they would have obstructed his Passage. Which he receiving Intelligence of, immediately led his Horse to that part of the River where they stood, commanding his Foot to follow; and when he arriv'd there, and saw the Enemies Army posted on the opposite Bank, he made no delay, but instantly enter'd the River with the Troops of Horse he brought with him. The *Indians* seeing him, and his Forces now in the middle of the River, retir'd hastily, yet orderly, from the Bank; and were pursu'd by *Alexander*; but when they perceiv'd that their Pursuers were only a Party of Horse, they fac'd about, and resolv'd to give him Battle, being about <sup>1</sup> fifty Thousand in Number. He, seeing the firm and close Order of their Army, and considering that he had no Foot Forces, resolv'd only to ride round them, and gall them at a

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<sup>1</sup> " *Alexander*, according to *Curtius*, marched from the aforementioned City, at the Confluence of the three Rivers, thirty Furlongs, and then entered the Country of the *Oxydrace* and *Malli*, who, though before at Wars, were now, by reason of their common Danger, joined together." His Errors in Geography I pass by, these are incurable; and as to his saying that the *Oxydrace* and *Malli* had joined together, if he means no more than that they had entered into a League together, he may be right; but if he means that they had joined their Forces together, he maintains a Falsity; for *Arrian* assures us, that the *Oxdrace* did indeed design to have joined their Forces with the *Malli*, but *Alexander*, by a long March through a desert Country, invaded the *Malli*, and intirely subdued them, before the *Oxydrace* could come to their Assistance. *Curtius* says they were nine Thousand Foot (which some of his Editors being ashamed of, have made it ninety Thousand) and ten Thousand Horse, besides nine Hundred Chariots.

distance, but not to venture a close Engagement ; but in the mean while the *Agrianes* and Archers, and others of his choicest light-arm'd Foot, having pass'd the River, came to his Aid ; and a Phalanx of Foot appear'd at a small distance : Whereupon, the *Indians* growing diffident of their own Strength, be-took themselves to Flight, and retir'd into a certain fortified a City, not far off ; but *Alexander* pursuing them; slew many, and the rest being inclosed, he first environ'd them with his Horse ; but when the Foot arriv'd, he pitch'd his Tents, and besieг'd them in form : And as the Day was now too far spent to begin an Assault, his Foot, wearied with a long March, and his Horse, harras'd with a continu'd pursuit, as well as a difficult Passage over the River, he resolv'd to give them a little Rest the remaining part of the Day.

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2 " They came, says *Curtius*, lib. ix. cap. 4. 26. to the City of " the *Oxydracæ*." — This, indeed, *Arrian* tells us, was the vulgar Notion, however false. But he has sufficiently expos'd the Error in the eleventh Chapter of this Book: and so has *Strabo*, lib. xvii. pag. 1026. *Lucian*, indeed, in his Dialogues of the Dead, and *Pausanias* in his *Attecke*, incline to the vulgar Opinion. But *Plutarch*, *Strabo* and *Arrian*, who has given the best Accounts thereof, are against them. *Justin* tells us, lib. xii. cap. 9. " That " he marched against the *Ambræ* and *Sugambri*, who opposed him " with 80000 Foot and 6000 Horse." — By these *Ambræ* and *Sugambri*, his Commentators say, can be meant no other People but the *Malli* and *Oxydracæ*; the first of which Nations *Diodorus* calls *Ambricæ*; and *Pliny*, the last, *Sydracæ*; *Orosius* names them *Mandri*, and *Subagriæ*, *Vid. Bongarsii Comment. ad Justin*, p. 121.





## C H A P. IX.

**O**N the Morrow, having divided his Forces, he took the Command of one part of the Army himself, and having given the other to *Perdiccas*, attack'd the Walls, and when the Defendants were unable to endure the Violence thereof, they fled, and retir'd into the <sup>1</sup> Castle. *Alexander*, with his Forces, having burst open one of the Gates of the City, enter'd, and took Possession thereof, a long time before the rest. *Perdiccas* and his Party, no sooner mounted the Walls (for many of them had not yet recover'd their Ladders) than they perceiv'd the City taken, because the Walls were left defenceless. However, the Besieged having enter'd the Castle, and being resolutely bent to hold it, some of the *Macedonians* endeavour'd to undermine the Walls, others to scale them, and accordingly busied themselves in

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<sup>1</sup> We have not one Word of a Castle, or Citadel in *Curtius*, but he talks, all along, as if they were attacking the City. *Justin* tells us, *lib. xii. cap. 9.* That “ *Alexander* having leapt from the Walls to “ the inside of the City, found it deserted by those who were to “ have defended it.” — *Orosius*, who copied from *Justin*, has mended the matter a little, for he says, That “ when *Alexander* “ first mounted the Walls, he imagined that the City was deserted; “ therefore he leaped down, on the inside, without a Guard.”

— However, both of these Assertions are false; for that the Citadel, which they mistook for the City, was not deserted, *Alexander* soon found, to his Cost; and that he could not so much as think it deserted, is evident, because his Enemies attacked him so warmly upon the Walls, that even *Curtius* tells us, *lib. ix. cap. 5. 1.* “ his own Men cried out to him to leap down to them on the “ outside, and they would stand ready to receive him as he should “ fall.” He has made a most romantick Story of the whole; and indeed, it is improbable he would suffer so excellent an Opportunity of displaying his Talent at Rhetorick to slip through his Fingers.

fixing their Ladders, wherever they could, with design to storm the Place. But *Alexander*, not brooking their slow Proceedings, snatch'd a Ladder out of the Hands of one of the Soldiers, and applying it to the Wall, immediately mounted, having guarded his Body with his Shield. <sup>2</sup> *Peucestas* follow'd his Steps, bearing the consecrated Shield, which *Alexander* had taken out of the Temple of the *Trojan Pallas*, and order'd to be born before him in all his Battles: After him, *Leonnatus* ascended by the same Ladder; and *Abreas* (one who receiv'd a double Stipen, on account of former Services) by another. And now

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<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* gives us a Story, of three whole Pages, of what *Alexander* performed before any came to his Assistance; one particular of which is, *lib. iz. cap. 5. 4.* "That leaping down from the top of the Wall, among the thickest of his Enemies, he had certainly been surrounded, had not Fortune favoured him, for hard by the Wall was an old Tree (*vetusta Arbor*) which spread out large Branches on each side, well cloathed with Leaves, &c.—against the Trunk of which, he placed his Back."—I wonder how *Curtius* came to call this an old Tree, when it spread out such large Branches, and was so well cloathed with Leaves; we usually call a Tree, Old, when the Sap ceasing to ascend, the Trunk becomes dry, and rotten, and the Boughs bare, so that neither Bark nor Leaf are to be seen. Had he called this a large Tree, he might have been pardoned, but, by his Description, it will never pass for an old one. However, I can see no occasion there was for any Tree at all; for as *Alexander* leaped down from the Wall, he could not be far from it; and suppose he only set his Back against it, would it not have saved him from being enclosed as well as the Trunk of the old Tree? I can see no reason why it should not, and better too. *Diodorus* and *Justin* gives us the Story of the Tree, but say nothing of its Age. *Curtius* says, *lib. ix. cap. 3. 32.* "That after *Alexander* alone had mounted the Walls, his Soldiers could not approach to help him, because they were so ply'd from above with Darts and Arrows."—If so, how did *Alexander* himself mount? He felt none of them 'till he gained the Top, and when he had gained it, he drove the greatest part of the Defendants down headlong, on the inside, and the rest who were out of his reach, buisy'd themselves in discharging their Artillery at him. The truth is, *Alexander*, and *Peucestas*, and *Leonnatus* ascended by one Ladder, and *Abreas* by another, and the Targeteers crowding, in too great Numbers, to mount after their King, broke the Ladders, so that no more besides these four could then mount.

*Alexander* having gain'd the top of the Battlements, and fix'd his Shield for defence, drove some of the Defendants headlong down into the Castle, and slew others with his Sword, insomuch, that he clear'd the Place where he stood. But the Royal Targeteers being sollicitous for their King, and endeavouring to ascend, in too great Numbers, broke the Ladders, and thereby not only fell down themselves, but hinder'd others from mounting. *Alexander*, in the mean time, stood as a Mark, for all the *Indians*, who were in the adjacent Towers, for none of them durst venture to come so near him, as to fight Hand to Hand; and those within the Castle also cast their Darts at him, but at some distance (for the *Indians* had thrown up a Rampart there within the Wall, where they stood, and they easily perceiv'd who he was, both by the brightness of his Armour, and the greatness of his Courage. However, he resolv'd (rather than to continue exposed in that Station, where nothing was to be done worthy Notice) to cast himself directly into the Castle, imagining that such an Action would strike a Terror into the Besieged, or at least it would add greatly to his Glory, and if he dy'd there, he should gain the Admiration and Applause of Posterity; upon which, he immediately leap'd down into the Castle, where fixing himself against the Wall, some of the Enemy who rush'd forwards upon him, he slew with his Sword, and among the rest, the *Indian* General: Others, as they advanc'd towards him, he smote with Stones, and beat them back; but upon their second, and nigher approach, he slew them also with his Sword: So that the *Barbarians* durst, now no more attempt to come within his reach, but gathering about him, at some distance, threw their Darts, and such other Weapons, at him, as they had, or could find, from that Station,

## C H A P. X.

**P**EUCESTAS, <sup>1</sup> *Abreas*, and *Leonnatus* were the only three Persons of the whole Macedonian Army, who mounted the Castle-Wall before the Ladders broke, and they leap'd down on the inside, and valiantly fought to save their King. *Abreas* was wounded, in the Face, with an Arrow, and fell down dead. *Alexander's* Breast-plate was pierc'd through, with an Arrow, whereby he receiv'd a Wound in the Breast, which *Ptolemy* says, was so dangerous, that, by the vast Effusion of Blood, his Life was dispair'd of: Nevertheless, so long as he was hot, he retain'd his innate

I am mistaken if this *Abreas* be not the same whom *Curtius*, lib. ix. cap. 5. 15. mentions by the Name of *Timæus*; and *Plutarch*, pag. 39. by that of *Limæus*; both of them own that he fell in endeavouring to save his Master, at this Place. The *Ariston*, whom *Curtius* takes notice of, as one who entered with *Peucestas*, *Leonnatus*, and *Timæus*, may perhaps be the same whom *Arrian* mentions, as one of the King's Body-Guards in the 27th Chapter of this Book, by the Name of *Ariston*, the Son of *Pisæus*, the *Pellæan*. However no Author besides himself, tells us any thing of his entring the Town with the other three. When *Curtius* has suffered *Alexander* to lean against an old Tree, and fight for three whole Pages, he tells us, lib. ix. cap. 5. 15. That " *Peucestas* beat the Defendants off the " Wall, and entered the City, on the other side, and after him *Timæus*, then *Leonnatus*, and last of all *Ariston*, and that they keep- " ing the Tract, which led close by the Wall, came to the King's " Aid." — Now I would gladly know how these four entered: If they burst open a Gate, why could not four Thousand have entered, as well as four? If they climbed up the Wall, were none among the whole Army so good at climbing as they? The Ladders were all broke before, according to his own Account. And again, when those Four entered, one by one, on the other side, wherever that side was, the Defendants (had they not been drunk, or asleep) might have done their Busines, one might think, before they could have reached the Place where the King was. However, we need be in no great Pain, upon that Account, for *Arrian* has cleared up all those Doubts, by assuring us, that they mounted the Wall, immediately after *Alexander*, and, in the same place, before the Ladders broke.

Courage, and defended himself valiantly ; but the Blood streaming from him, and his Spirits sinking, he was seiz'd with a Dizziness in his Head, and a Chil-ness throughout his Limbs, whereupon he fell forward upon his Shield. *Peucestas* then, with the sacred Shield of *Pallas*, stood by the King, and protected him from the Enemies Darts, on the one side, as did *Leon-natus* on the other ; but they were also sore wounded, and *Alexander* was very nigh loosing his Blood, and Life together. The *Macedonians* without, were in the utmost Anxiety how they should ascend the Walls, and get to the inside of the Castle, fearing lest their King, who had rashly exposed himself, by scaling the Walls, and leaping down, among the Enemy, should be in Danger ; and their Ladders being broke, they us'd all their Skill to contrive other Ways to mount : whereupon some of them drove large Iron Pins into the Wall (which was built with Brick) and taking hold of those, hoisted themselves up, with great Difficulty ; others mounted upon the Shoulders of their Companions, and so gain'd the Top ; however, he who ascended first, leap'd down on the other side, and saw the King lying prostrate ; and afterwards, others following, with dreadful Shouts and Lamentations, a sharp Battle ensu'd, they endeavouring, with all their might, to save their King, by covering him with their Shields. In the mean while, others having torn off the 2 Bars, and forc'd open a Gate, between

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2 When the whole Body of the *Macedonian* Army, as *Curtius* has told the Story, *lib. ix. cap. 5. 19.* "heard that the King was dead, without the least regard to Danger, they fell to work and broke the Wall down, with Pick-Axes, and so entered the City." — He should have said the Castle, for the City was taken, at the first Assault, a long time before. However, I wonder how they came to be, so silly as to stand humming and hawing so long (when they knew their King was in the utmost Danger) and never thought of their Pick-Axes all the while. This Story is as unlikely as any of the rest of his relating ; and *Arrian's* plain Manner of telling it, is infinitely more natural,

two Towers, made way for their Companions to enter, and, a part of the Wall giving way to the violent Shocks of some others, open'd a new Passage into the Castle.



## C H A P. XI.

A MIGHTY Slaughter of the *Indians* then ensued, every Soul, which was found, being cut off, and not so much as the Women, or Children spar'd. The *Macedonians* then turn'd their Thoughts on their King, whom they bore away, upon his Shield, not knowing whether he would die or live. Some Authors relate, that <sup>1</sup> *Critodemus*, a Physician of *Coos*, laid open his Wound and drew out the Arrow: Others, that *Perdiccas* perform'd that Task, no Physician being present, and the Case urgent; for *Alexander* commanded that the Wound should be open'd, tho' with a Sword, and the Dart drawn out of his Body: However, he lost abundance of Blood in the Operation; and when he again fainted away, that very *Syncope*, or Swooning Fit which then seiz'd him, stop'd the Effusion of Blood, and sav'd his Life. Many other Things are related, concerning this Accident, by *Historians*, which, having their first Foundation laid in *Falshood*, have been transmitted by *Romancers* to our Times, and are likely to be handed down to Posterity, unless an End be put to this way of Writing. That this Misfortune happen'd to *Alexander*

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* calls him *Critobolus*, *lib. ix. cap. 5. 25.* and tells us a prodigious long Story of his drawing out the Arrow; as also, what Discourse passed between him and the Physician, which if it were genuine, is little to the Purpose, and as it is not, is not worth remarking.

among the <sup>2</sup> *Oxydracæ*, is the vulgar Notion, which nevertheless was among the *Malli*, one of the free Nations of *India*. For the City belong'd to that People, and it was, from that People, he receiv'd the Wound. The *Malli* indeed design'd to have joined their Forces with the *Oxydracæ*, and so to have given him Battle; but *Alexander's* hasty and unexpected March, through the dry and barren Waste, prevented their Union, so that they could not give any Assistance to each other. In the same Manner, the last Battle with *Darius* (from whence he took his Flight, and continu'd it from place to place, 'till he was feiz'd by *Bessus*, and slain upon *Alexander's* Approach) is as confidently reported to have been fought at *Arbela*, as the preceeding one was at *Iffus*, and the first Equestrian Battle at the River *Granicus*. The first Equestrian Battle really happen'd on the Banks of the River *Granicus*, as did the other at *Iffus*; but *Arbela* is distant from the Field where this last Battle was fought, six Hundred, or at least five Hundred Furlongs. For both *Ptolemy* and *Aristobolus* assure us, that the Scene of this last Action with *Darius*, was at *Gaugamela* upon the River *Bumelus*. And whereas *Gaugamela* was only an obscure Village, and the sound of its Name not grateful to the Ear, the Glory of that

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<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* is one of those romancing Authors whom *Arrian* takes notice of, or at least those from whom *Curtius* extracted his Materials; for no Author whatever makes the least mention of *Curtius's* History before the twelfth Century; for which Reason many have suspected the Work to have been done by some Modern, a little before that Time, and an ancient Name placed before it, to give a sort of Sanction to the Fallacy. However, whether he be Ancient or Modern, I neither know, nor care. There have been Thousands of wise Men, and Millions of Fools, both Ancient and Modern, and therefore, I think, it concerns not me to be so inquisitive whether his Work be old or new, or whether it be good or bad. *Curtius* has made *Alexander* receive this Wound among the *Oxydracæ*. He has also placed the last Battle with *Darius* at *Arbela*, and run into a vast number of Absurdities, on that account, as may be perceived by reading the Comment upon that part.

Battle has been conferr'd on *Arbela*, as the chief City of these Parts. But if this Battle may be said to have been fought at *Arbela*, which was really fought at so great a distance from it, why may not the Naval Action at *Salamis* be ascribed to the *Corinthian Isthmus*, or that at *Artemesius*, in the Island *Eubaea*, to *Ægina*, or *Sunium*. But to return: Even the Names of those who sav'd *Alexander* from the Enemies Fury, by covering him with their Shields, are diversly given: That *Peucestas* was one, all Authors agree; but not so, concerning *Leonnatus*, nor *Abreas*. Again, some Writers tell us, that *Alexander* having receiv'd <sup>3</sup> a Blow, with a Club, upon his Helmet, a Mist came over his Eyes, and he fell down; but recovering his Spirits, and rising again, his Breast-plate was pierc'd with an Arrow, and he was wounded; tho' *Ptolemy* assures us he was only wounded in the Breast. But the Writers of *Alexander's* Life have grossly err'd, who report that <sup>4</sup> *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, mounted the Ladder, to scale the Wall, along with *Alexander* and *Peucestas*, and that he was one of those who protected the King with his Shield, when he lay prostrate; and, on that account, received the Name of *Soter*, or *Saviour*; for he himself assures us, that he was not present at that Siege, but was dispatch'd, at that time, on an Expedition against other *Indians*, elsewhere. This Digression I have made, that the Writers of History may be more careful in relating the

<sup>3</sup> This *Plutarch* gives us, p. 39. " *Alexander*, says he, among many other Wounds, received so weighty a Stroke, upon his Neck, with a Club, that he was forced to lean his Body against the Wall, yet nevertheless, he still looked undaunted upon his Enemies.

<sup>4</sup> After I have noted so many Errors in *Curtius*, I hope my Readers will allow me to assure them he is once in the right; 'tis strange I own, but Miracles are not ceased. He tells us, lib. ix. cap. 5. 21. " That, according to *Clitarchus* and *Timagenes*, *Ptolemy*, who after " reigned, was present at this Fight; but he himself (who would " never have contradicted any thing which would have redounded " so much to his own Honour, had it been true) assures us he was " then absent on an Expedition elsewhere."

particular Circumstances of great Actions, and inquire more narrowly into the Truth of whatever they deliver to Posterity.



## C H A P. XII.

**W**HILE the King lay there, to wait for the healing of his Wound, News was carried to the Camp, from whence he set out on that Expedition, that he was Dead ; upon which, a sudden Cry run

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“ The King, says *Curtius*, lib. ix. cap. 6. 1. had not been above seven Days under Cure, and the Wound was not yet closed up, nor skin’d over, when hearing it was strongly reported among the *Barbarians* that he was Dead, he caused a Pavlion to be erected upon two Ships fastened together, &c. by which means being seen by the Inhabitants of the Country, he dashed the Hopes of his Enemies, which had arisen from that false News. After which he fell down the Stream, but commanded the rest of his Fleet to keep at some distance, that his Repose might not be disturbed by the Noise of their Oars.” — Here are many Errors couch’d in a little room. *Curtius* has already told us, that the Country of the *Oxydracæ* was but thirty Furlongs from the Confluence of the three great Rivers, as he calls them, (viz.) the *Hydaspes*, *Acesines*, and *Indus*, which he now, undoubtely, supposes all united into one Stream, by the Name of *Indus* ; and that this City was nigh the Place where his whole Fleet lay. Upon this false Supposition, he tells us, “ That the King had not been above seven Days under Cure, &c. — In the first place, that City was not nigh any of these three Rivers, but the *Hydrastes*, and not upon the Banks of that neither. Secondly, *Alexander* was not on Board during the time his Wound was under Cure, but in his Tent, or, perhaps, in the City, which he was now Master of. Thirdly, It is not very probable he should stir out in seven Days, nor before his Wound was pretty well healed up. *Arrian* here, seems to hint, as if he tarried there a great while, even ‘till he was thoroughly cured. And *Plutarch* says, pag. 39. “ That after all Danger was over, he still continued very weak, and confin’d himself to a regular Diet a great while. Fourthly, when he ventur’d on Board, it was not where his Fleet lay, but on Board some Ship which was then in the River *Hydراotes*, and so sailed, down the Stream, to his Fleet,

run throughout the Camp, as the Report spread from one to another: And when they came a little to themselves, and begun to set Bounds to their Grief, they were strangely perplex'd, and in great Doubt, who should be chosen to head the Army (for many seem'd to have equal Pretence to that Dignity, by their Merit, not only in *Alexander's* Opinion, but also in that of the *Macedonians*) and how they should be led safe into their own Country, being surrounded with so many fierce and warlike Nations; some whereof, whom they had not yet visited, would, in all probability, fight stoutly for their Liberty; and others, whom they had, would revolt, when they were freed from the fear of *Alexander*. Besides, when they begun to consider how many vast Rivers were between them and their Country, which they were no ways able to pass over, they were almost driven to Dispair; and indeed every thing seem'd terrible to them, when they wanted their King: And even when the former Accounts were contradicted, and News came of his being still alive, the Messenger could hardly find Credit, for they had, before, heard that there were but small Hopes of his Life: Nay, when Letters arriv'd signifying that he would return to the Camp in a short while, the News seem'd incredible to many, by reason of the excessive Fear which possess'd them; for they suppos'd that the Letters had been no more than a Contrivance of his Body-Guards, and the Generals of his Army.

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Fleet, which then lay at the Confluence of that River, and the *Aeclimes*. Fifthly, The Report of his Death was not among the *Barbarians*, or *Indians*, for that could not have done him much Injury, but it was spread among the *Macedonians*, and his own People, which caused him to make as much haste, as his Health would permit, to shew himself among them, for fear of an Insurrection. All these Blunders he has committed within the compass of almost so many Lines. He is lavish of them here, and prodigal, even to a Fault. If he goes on, at this rate, he may chance to run out his whole stock of Lies, and be forced, at last, to speak Truth, in spite of this strongest Inclinations to the contrary.



## C H A P. XIII.

WHEN Alexander came to the Knowledge of this, he began to fear that an Insurrection might happen, for which Reason, as soon as his Health would admit, he order'd himself to be convy'd to the Banks of the River *Hydantes*, and from thence, down the Stream, to the Camp, which was nigh the Confluence of the *Hydantes* and *Acesines*, where *Hephaestion* had the Command of the Army, and *Nearchus* of the Navy. When the Ship, which had the King on Board, approach'd in view of the Camp, he order'd the Cover of his Royal Pavilion to be hoisted upon the Poop thereof, to be seen by the whole Army. But neither yet did many believe him to be alive, but that the Ship was bringing his dead Body, 'till, at laft, he drew near the Shore, and stretch'd out his right Hand to the Multitude. Then, a loud Shout, was rais'd, for Joy: Some holding up their Hands to Heaven; others to their King; and many, who dispair'd of his Life, melting into Tears, by such a sudden, and unexpected Joy. And, when the Targeteers, upon his coming on Shore, brought the Bed, or Litter, whereon he had been carry'd before, he refus'd it, and order'd his Horse to be made ready, which, having mounted, he again receiv'd the joyful Acclamations of the whole Army; the Banks, and neighbouring Woods, ecchoeing with the Sound. When he approach'd his Tent, he leap'd from his Horse, and shew'd himself also to his Army on Foot, to give them the greater certainty of his Health. Then arose a general Emulation among them, and they strove which should approach nighest to him, and some were ambitious to touch his Hands; others, his Knees; others aspir'd no higher than his Garments; and

and some were even satisfy'd with a sight of him, and with wishing him Health, and Happiness; some brought Garlands, and others, Flowers, such as the Country produc'd, to strow in his Way: And when some of his Friends reprov'd him for exposing himself to such Dangers for the Army, and told him, it was not the Busines of a General, but of a common Soldier: *Nearchus* tells us, he took their Reproofs ill, and the Reason why he was offended at the Liberty they us'd, seems to be, because their Reproofs were just, and he was conscious he deserv'd them. However, his Fortitude in Battle, and his Thirst after Glory, hurried him so far, that he could not contain himself, nor keep out of the midst of Danger. The same Author also assures us, that an

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8 *Curtius* has given us one of those Speeches, which he puts into the Mouth of *Craterus*, and makes him Prolocutor for the rest. There are some Passages, both of that, and of *Alexander's* Answer, so extraordinary, that I cannot forbear presenting my Reader with them, as a Pattern of that Author's Judgment. " Do you think, " Sir, says *Craterus*, to the King, *lib. ix. cap. 6. 6.* That we should " be more concerned at the arrival of an Army of Enemies, with " in our Trenches, than for the recovery of your Health? Let " all the Nations in the World come against us, with the greatest " Force they can raise; let them fill the whole Earth with Arms, " and Men, cover all Seas with Ships, and oppose us with the most " monstrous and unheard of Beasts, yet you will make us victorious " over them?" — And then, a little after, he adds; Which of us, " after your Death, would desire to live? Or, which of us could " survive you, if we would?" — Well, *Alexander*, undoubtedly believ'd all this, for he answers, or *Curtius* for him, " That he re- " turn'd them all hearty Thanks for the Affection expressed to him, " that Day; and (when he had remembred them of the Victories " he had won) adds, " I now possess all *Asia*, from the *Helle-* " *front to the Red Sea*, and am advanced not far off the World's " End, which, when I arrive at, I intend to pass, and open, to " my self, another Nature, and another World. I pass'd out of *Asia*, " into the Frontiers of *Europe*, in one Minute of an Hour, and be- " ing Victorious over both these Regions." — &c. — I shall not make any Remarks upon two or three Errors, in this small Specimen, of *Alexander's* Answer; the Rant, and Emptiness both of that, and the other, is so apparent, that it would be an Affront to my Reader's Judgment to presume to expose them.

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ancient *Bæotian*, whose Name he conceals, understanding how much *Alexander* was offended at his Friends Rebukes, and how he bore a shew of Anger, in his Looks, approach'd his Presence, and spoke to him, to this Effect, in the *Bæotian Dialect* ; *O, Alexander, to attempt great Actions, is the part of a Hero* ; and, at the same time, repeated an Iambick Verse the purport whereof is, *He who acts bravely, ought also to suffer bravely*. This saying of the old Man pleas'd the King so well, that he, ever after, held him in high Esteem.



## C H A P. XIV.

**A**BOU'T this time arriv'd Embassadors from the *Malli*, which still remain'd unsubdu'd, who made him a Surrender of the Government of their whole Nation ; then also arriv'd the Prefects of Cities, and Presidents of the Provinces of the *Oxydracæ*, and, with them, one Hundred and Fifty of their chief Men, with choice Presents, and a free Tender of themselves and Country into his Hands. They, moreover, beg'd his Pardon for coming no sooner, to profess their Obedience to him ; which, however, they thought themselves not unworthy of, because, like other free Nations of *India*, they had a strong desire of living according to their own Laws, which

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* has made strange Work here : he tells us, *lib. ix. cap. 7. 12.* " That no fewer than a hundred Embassadors arrived from " the two Nations, so often mentioned before, (*viz.*) the *Oxydracæ* and *Malli*." — An Hundred and Fifty came from the *Oxydracæ* alone. — However, he proceeds, " The Embassadors " declared, that they yielded up their Country, and, to him, they " committed that Liberty, which they had, for so many Ages, " kept inviolable." — However, about six Lines further, he contradicts

which Liberty they had enjoy'd free, and unmolested, from the time that *Bacchus* conquer'd *India*, to that Day. But if it seem'd good to *Alexander* (for-as-much as he was also said to be the Off-spring of a God) they were willing to receive a Governour from him, to pay the Tribute he should impose upon them, as also to give what Hostages he should require. *Alexander*, hereupon, requir'd them to send <sup>2</sup> a Thousand of the chief Men of their Nation, whom he would either detain, or use as Soldiers, 'till he had conquer'd the rest of *India*. Those Thousand, chosen out of the best and choicest of their Nation, were accordingly

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tradiests this, by saying, that “ *Alexander* received them as Subjects, and imposed on them the same Tribute, which both the two Nations, had before, paid to the *Arachofians*. ” — If they were Tributaries to the *Arachofians* before, where was their boasted Liberty ? But even this, is closed with the highest improbability; for how could the *Arachofians*, who had been subdued by the *Perians*, and were Tributaries to them, make the *Oxydrace* and *Malli* (two of the stoutest Nations in *India*) pay Tribute, especially when they were at a vast distance from them, and had the two great Rivers, *Indus* and *Acesines*, between them ? — He also adds, That “ these Embassadors told *Alexander*, that they received his Yoak “ while their Forces were yet entire. ” — Had this been spoke of the *Oxydrace* separately, it had been tolerable, but as he joined them with the *Malli*, in the War, and the *Malli* with them in this Embassy (both falsly) it is an Error; for he, himself, assures us, they had been worsted at the City, where *Alexander* received his Wound; and *Arrian* mentions several other Defeats, and several Cities besides, which had been wrested out of their Hands.

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* tells us, *lib. ix, cap. 7. 15.* “ That *Alexander* imposed a Tribute upon those two Nations, of 2500 Horses, over and above what they usually paid to the *Arachofians*. *Arrian* talks not of any Tribute, but of the Hostages which were demanded, 'till the promised Tribute, whatever it was, should be paid. However, when the two Nations had made him a Present of five Hundred Chariots of War, their Hostages were delivered up. *Curtius* then diverts his Readers, for two whole Pages, with a Combat, which being nothing to the Design of his History, might as well have been omitted. He afterwards, gives us a Catalogue of the Presents which the King received from those Nations, which no body else mentions, and which a fruitful Invention can furnish out, without one penny Expence to himself, or any Burthen to the Parish where he dwells.

ing, that by the Advantage of such a Situation, it would become Rich and Populous, and there, he caused some Ships to be built. About this time, *Oxyartes*, the *Bactrian*, Father to *Roxane*, *Alexander's* Wife, came to him; He receiv'd him kindly, and bestow'd on him the Government of the Country of the *Parapamisans*, <sup>2</sup> *Tiryeses*, their former Gouvernour, being displac'd for Male-administration. Then *Craterus*, with the greatest part of the Army, and the Elephants, were ferry'd over the River *Indus*, and set a-shore upon the left Bank, because the Road, on that side, seem'd much more firm, and commodious for the heavy arm'd Soldiers; and, besides, the neighbouring Countries were not wholly reduc'd. He then sail'd down the Stream to the Realm of the *Sogdi*, where he built another <sup>3</sup> City, and some more Shipping, and caus'd his old Ships to be repair'd. Then

<sup>2</sup> He is called *Tyriaspes*, by *Arrian*, *lib. iv. cap. 22.* and *Terioltes* by *Curtius*, *lib. ix. cap. 8. 9.* who has never mentioned him before as constituted Gouvernour of the *Parapamisans*; however, he tells us, he was condemned to Death, which, perhaps, might be true. He then adds, "That *Oxyartes* was accused of some sinister Designs, " on account of a late Revolt in *Bactria*, where his Lieutenancy " was, but cleared himself so well before the King, that he conferred a greater Province upon him."—But tells us not where it lay.—This, *Curtius* adds, *lib. ix. cap. 7. 3.* " was not a Revolt of the " *Bactrians*, but an Insurrection of a Colony of *Græcians* planted " there, who, under the Conduct of one *Athenodorus*, were resolved to leave the Place of their Settlement, and return into " their own Country."—That this whole Story is no more than a Rhetorical Flourish, I am apt to suspect: First, because *Arrian*, who is every where so accurate in Matters of History, takes no notice thereof: And, Secondly, Because *Diodorus*, *p. 567.* contradicts him, and affirms, That they were all cut off after *Alexander's* Decease, and confirms the same again, *lib. 18.* Many did, indeed, return from other Colonies, into their own Country, some of whom *Curtius* undoubtedly mistook for these.

<sup>3</sup> We are told of the building of this City by *Curtius*, *lib. ix. cap. 8. 8.* But, he says, it was built somewhere among some Nations, whom he vouchsafes not to name.—So exact is he in pointing out the Situations of Places, that after-Ages may judge of the accuracy of his Work.

the Government of the whole Country, from the Confluence of the *Acesines*, and *Indus*, to the Sea, as also all the Sea Coast, he bestow'd upon *Oxyartes* and *Python*; and having again dispatch'd *Craterus*, with his Forces, through the Confines of the *Aracoti*, and *Drangi*; he sail'd down the River, 'till he arriv'd at the Kingdom of *Muscanus* (which, according to the Information he had receiv'd, was the richest and most populous, throughout all *India*) and was highly offended, because <sup>4</sup> *Muscanus* neither came forth to meet him, and offer him Subjection, nor sought his Friendship by Embassadors, nor sent him Presents according to his Expectations, nor so much as condescended to make one single Request to him; and so swiftly did he pass down the River, that he enter'd his Territories before he receiv'd any notice of his coming. *Muscanus*, surpriz'd at his sudden Visit, immediately went forth to meet him, with all his Elephants in his Train, and having offer'd him Presents of the highest Value, deliver'd himself, and Realms, into his Hands, and acknowledg'd his Crime; which kind of Behaviour always weigh'd much with *Alexander*, towards the obtaining whatever was requested. Having therefore pardon'd his Crime, and admir'd at the Wealth and Beauty of his Kingdom, and Capital City, he deliver'd the Government of both again into his Hands. But, lest he should attempt any Innovation, when he was at a distance, he order'd *Craterus* to build a Castle in the City, and himself tarried there to see it finish'd; this done, he left a strong Garrison therein, because This Fort seem'd extreamly commodious for bridling the neighbouring Nations, and keeping them in Subjection. "

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<sup>4</sup> From the City, which *Alexander* had newly founded, *Curtius* tells us, he pass'd on to the Country of *Muscanus*, which he conquered, and placed a Garrison in his chief City, and this is all he has thought fit to give us of the Story. See *lib. ix. cap. 8. 9.*



## C H A P. XVI.

THE N, with his Archers and *Agrians*, and all the Troops of Horse which he had on Board his Navy, he march'd against a neighbouring Prince nam'd <sup>1</sup> *Oxycanus*, and invaded his Dominions, because he neither came forth to meet him, nor sent Embassadors, with the surrender of himself and Country: He took two of his chief Cities at the first Assault, in one of which, the King himself was taken Prisoner; *Alexander* gave the Spoils of them to his Soldiers, and carried away his Elephants; whereupon, all the other Cities belonging to *Oxycanus*, immediately submitted without Blows; so much did the Courage and Fortune of *Alexander* prevail against the *Indians* in those Parts. After this, he led his Forces against <sup>2</sup> *Sambus*, whom he had before declar'd Governour of the *Indian* Mountaineers;

<sup>2</sup> Between the Kingdom of *Myscanus*, and that of *Oxycanus*, *Curtius* places the *Prætians*, *lib. ix. cap. 8. 11.* but as no other Author mentions them besides himself, the *Delphini* Commentator sticks not to tell us, he, for that very reason, suspects the Truth thereof. He then proceeds to give us the Story of *Oxycanus*, whom *Diodorus*, *pag. 569.* and *Strabo*, *pag. 1026.* and many Editions of *Curtius*, call *Particanus*; "He tells us, the King retired into a strong City, wherein was a good Garrison, which, notwithstanding " *Alexander* took by Storm, after three Days Siege: Whereupon " *Oxycanus* retreated into the Citadel, and sent to capitulate, but " before they could reach him, two of the Towers of the Citadel " fell down, whereupon the *Macedonians* entring the Breach, over " the Ruines, took the Place, and slew *Oxycanus*, with some few, " who offered to resist their Fury.

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* calls him *Sabus*, *lib. ix. cap. 8. 13.* *Plutarch*, *Sabbas*, *p. 39.* *Strabo*, *Sabatas*, and his Capital City *Sindonalia*, *p. 1026.* But *Grönovius* imagines this an Error in the Copies of *Strabo*, and has corrected it from the Authority of *Arrian*. *Curtius* makes strange work with this *Sabus*, and his Country; for he tells us, *lib. ix. cap. 8. 15.* that "when *Alexander* had taken several of their " Towns,

Mountaineers, but who had fled, when he heard that *Muscanus* was dismiss'd in a friendly manner, and had his Dominions restor'd, for he was at Enmity with *Muscanus*. When *Alexander* approach'd the Capital City of his Province, call'd *Sindomana*, the

“ Towns, by Composition, he took their strongest City by a Mine, and from the Authority of *Clitarbus*, assures us, that he put “ 80000 Indians to the Sword in that Country.”— Well, one might reasonably believe he had done his Business, but he proceeds to acquaint us, that “ *Alexander*, having embarked his Troops “ on Board his Fleet, and sailed down the Stream three Days, “ on the fourth, he arrived at a Town on the Frontiers of King “ *Sabus*.”— Poor *Sabus*! One might have thought that the Blood of 80000 of thy Subjects had been enough to have gorged these Monsters.— However, to make the Story hang together, he acquaints us, That “ *Sabus* had indeed surrendered himself; but this City, three Days sail distant from the Place where “ he was attacked before, refused to obey him, whereupon *Alexander* took it by Stratagem, slaying 600 Indians, and taking 1000 “ Prisoners.”— After this, he gives us a long Story of the Indians, “ Who, he says, had poisoned their Arrows, so that many of the *Macedonians*, who were never so slightly touched, died of their Wounds, ‘till *Ptolemy*, who was one of the wounded, happening to fall into a profound Sleep, dreamed, that he beheld an Apparition in the form of a Dragon, holding a certain Herb in his Mouth, which he offered him, as a Remedy against the Poison; and so well did he remember the Shape of the Herb, that when he awoke, he said he could know it again, if any could find it out.” Well, search was made, and the Herb being found, was applied to their Wounds, and so all that were sick, were then cured: Whereupon the *Barbarians* finding that their Design had failed, delivered up their City. See *lib. ix. cap. 8. 25, &c.*— This is a strange dreaming Story, and could have proceeded from none but a dreaming Author. *Arrian* has told us something like the first Part thereof, as happening to a City which had revolted at the Instigation of the *Brahmans*, or *Indian Sages*; And *Strabo* gives us a Story very like the rest, with a Dragon tagg'd to the Tail of it; which, he says, happened among the *Oritæ*. See *lib. xv. pag. 1052. 1053.* In short, the latter part of the Story especially, has no manner of probability in it; and as *Ptolemy* himself gives us an account so widely different, we may reasonably reject that of *Curtius*, as fabulous, wherever he had his Materials. Besides, *Strabo* acquaints us, “ That it was very probable some skilful Person flewed the King this Herb, and the Fable was invented by those who had a mind to flatter him. See *pag. 1053 Ed. Casaub.*

Gates being fet open, the Friends and Domesticks of *Sambus* came forth to meet him, with Presents of Money and Elephants, assuring him, that *Sambus* did not retire out of his Territories, by reason of any sinister Designs against him, but for fear of *Musicanus*, after his Enlargement. Having then receiv'd the Homage of these, he attack'd and won a City, which had Revolted from him, and put to Death as many of the *Brachmans* as fell into his Hands, having charged them with being the Authors of this Rebellion. They bear a great Sway among the *Indians*, for their reputed Wisdom, whereof we shall give our Sentiments in a seperately Treatise relating to the Affairs of *India*.



## C H A P. XVII.

WHILE these Things were in agitation, News arriv'd of the Revolt of *Musicanus*, wherefore *Python*, the Son of *Agenor*, being dispatch'd with a sufficient Force, against him, he attack'd the Cities belonging to him, and demolish'd some of them, and erected Castles, and planted Garrisons in others; and having executed his Orders, returned to the Camp, and Fleet, carrying *Musicanus* along with him, in Chains. *Alexander* order'd him to be Crucified in his own Territories, and with him, as many of the *Brachmans* as had instigated him to a Revolt. At this time, came the Prince of the <sup>1</sup> *Pattalans* to meet him, and gave up himself and Kingdom into his Hands.

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<sup>1</sup> I cannot perceive that *Curtius* ever takes Notice of *Pattala*, as an Island, made by the two Branches of the River *Indus*, but he is seldom accurate in any thing, and remarkably defective in his Geography, every where. He says, *lib. ix. cap. 8. 28.* "That *Mæris*, King of the *Patbalian*, had quitted his Capital City, and fled to

*if the*

(This Realm, the River *Indus* incloses in the form of the Greek Letter  $\Delta$  (*Delta*) and it is much larger than the *Egyptian* Province of the same Name.) *Alexander* restor'd him to his Government, commanding him only to provide all Necessaries for his Army, when they arriv'd there. He then dispatch'd <sup>2</sup> *Craterus*, with *Attalu's*, *Meleagers* and *Antigene's* Troops, and some of the Archers, with such of the Auxiliaries, and other *Macedonian* Soldiers, as were unfit for Service, with Orders that they should pass through the Countries of the *Arachoti* and *Drangi*, into *Carmania*, and thence into *Macedonia*, and, to him, he gave the Charge of the Elephants. The rest of the Army, except those Forces which he had on Board his Fleet, was commanded by *Hephaestion*. But *Python*, who led the Equestrian Archers, and *Agrians*, on the other side of the River, opposite to *Hephaestion*, was order'd to draw Colonies into the Cities newly built; and if the neighbouring *Indians* attempted any Innovation, to reduce them to Obedience, and then to meet him and his Forces at *Pattala*. But when he had sailed three Days down the River, he re-

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“ the Mountains.”— That's true enough, but he had met *Alexander* before, and promised to surrender himself and Kingdom into his Hands; but this was too much for *Curtius* to tell his Readers, because he was in hast to acquaint them with the marvellous Story of the Ebbing and Flowing of the Tide.

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* never once mentions this Circumstance of *Craterus* being dispatched before the rest of the Army, with the Invalids, Elephants, &c. notwithstanding which, when *Alexander* was in *Gedrosia*, lib. ix. cap. 10. 19. He tells us, “ He received a Message from *Craterus*, importuning, that he had seized and put in Custody, “ *Ozines* and *Zariapses*, two *Persian* Noblemen, who were contriving a Rebellion.”— It is certainly a prodigious Fault in him, to acquaint us with the last Circumstance, unless he had given us the former. His Readers may, with good Reason, ask him, how *Craterus* came there, because, the last time they heard from him, he was in *India*. *Craterus* seems here to duck down in *India*, and pop up his Head in *Gedrosia*; like the British Queen, who is said to have sunk at *Charing-Cross*, and risen again at *Queen-Hithe*.

ceiv'd Intelligence, that the Prince of the *Pattalans*, having gathered together a vast Number of his Subjects, had abandon'd his Country, and fled into the Deserts, upon which, *Alexander* made the more haste thither ; and when he arriv'd there, he found the Cities destitute of Inhabitants, and even the Fields of Husbandmen ; wherefore, sending some of the lightest-arm'd Troops of his Army, in pursuit ; when they had taken some of them, he dispatch'd those forwards to the rest, to invite them to return, declaring that they should enjoy the same Freedom, both to inhabit their Cities, and to Till their Lands as heretofore, upon which Invitation many of them return'd.



## C H A P. XVIII.

**H**E then dispatch'd *Hephætion* to build a <sup>1</sup> Fort in the City, and sent several Men into the neighbouring Country, which was destitute of Water, to dig Wells, and render it Habitable : But some of the *Barbarians* assaulting them, on a sudden, slew a few of them, but were, at last, put to flight, and having lost many of their Numbers, betook themselves to the Desert. *Alexander* having Notice of this Insult of the *Barbarians*, sent other Forces, to join with the former, and carry on the Work with safety.

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<sup>1</sup> We have not one word in *Curtius*, of this Fort or Castle, built to curb the *Pattalans*, only in one place he seems to intimate in general (for he is exact in nothing material) that *Alexander* built many Cities thereabouts (*urbes plerasq; condidit*) of which some of his Commentators have imagined the *Barce* in *Justin*, lib. xii. cap. 19. to be one. The *Potana* in *Diodorus*, another, and the *Xylenopolis* in *Pliny*, a third ; but *Tellier*, with great Reason, judges the Copies of *Curtius* to be erroneous there, and that instead of *urbes plerasq;* it ought to be read *Urbes Portusq;* If this be allowed, he differs not much from *Arrian*.

Nigh *Pattala*, the River *Indus* divides itself into two vast Branches, both whereof carry the same Name to the Sea. Here, he order'd a Haven, and convenient Docks for Ships to be built; and when all things succeeded to his Wish, he resolv'd to sail down to the Ocean, by that Branch of the River on the right Hand; wherefore sending *Leonnatus*, with a Thousand Horse, and about eight Thousand heavy, and light-arm'd Foot, through the Island *Pattala*, that they might meet the Fleet on the other side: He, with some of his choicest, and best sailing Ships, namely the *Biremes*, and *Triremes*, and some long Gallies, begun his Course down the right Branch of the River; but as he had no <sup>2</sup> Pilot, who was acquainted with the Channel (for the *Indians* thereabout, had fled from their Habitations) they were reduc'd to great Straits; for the Wind blowing vehemently from the Ocean, the next Day, the River swell'd, the Waves rag'd, and his Ships beat against each other, insomuch, that some of them were shatter'd, and some of his *Triremes* almost wholly dash'd in pieces, so that they were, with much difficulty, drawn to the Bank, and the Men sav'd, who otherwise had been swallow'd up by the Waves. Other Ships being then built, and some of the nimblest of the light-arm'd Soldiers sent up into the Country, at a distance from the River, they took some *Indians*, whom they us'd as

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<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* acquaints us, that " *Alexander* took some Pilots on board at *Pattala*, lib. ix. cap. 8. 30. but they making their escape by reason of the carelessness of their Guards; he sent into an Island, situate almost in the middle of the Channel of the River, " for more, but the Messengers returned, without finding any." Where this Island is, or what was its Name, he has not told us; some of his Commentators, indeed, have supposed it to have been the same with *Arrian's Cillatas*, but without any probability; that being no more than one Days sail from the Ocean, if so much, whereas this mentioned by *Curtius*, was above four Days sail from the Mouth of the River, as may easily be gathered from the Circumstances of the Story. The remaining part of this Chapter he has wholly omitted,

Pilots,

Pilots, all along that River: But when they arriv'd at the Place where it is full two Hundred Furlongs wide; namely, at its Mouth, the Wind blowing hard from the Sea, and the Waves rising so high as to hinder them from managing their Oars, they again put into a certain Bay, which their Pilots shew'd them, for Shelter,



## C H A P. XIX.

WHILE they continued in that Station, an accident happen'd which astonish'd them, namely, the Ebbing and Flowing of the Waters, like as in the great Ocean, insomuch, that the Ships were left upon dry Ground, which *Alexander*, and his Friends, having never perceiv'd before, were so much the more surpriz'd at. But what increased their Astonishment, was, that the Tide returning, a short while after, began to heave the Ships up; so that those which stuck in the Mud, were gently rais'd, and set on float

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* has spent no less than four long Pages, in describing the Confusion, Horror, and vast Astonishment which *Alexander's* Soldiers were in, when they first perceived the Tide. But Mr. *Le Clerc* has sufficiently assured us, in his Criticism, prefixed to this Work, that he has described it ten times greater than it either was, or possibly could be, and has given such strong Reasons to convince us of the Truth of what he says, that it is impossible to read his Arguments, and not subscribe to his Opinion. *Arrian* only describes the Wonder of *Alexander*, and his Friends, or chief Officers, who had never been Eye-witnesses of the like before; tho' many of the *Perians*, and other Nations, inhabiting the Sea Coast, whom he had then on board his Fleet, and in his Army, could not be strangers to it; besides, the Peasants which he then had on board his Fleet, according to *Curtius's* own Confession, could not know the River, and, at the same time, be ignorant of the Ebbing and Flowing of the Tide. I forbear to take any Notice of his Rhetorical Rant of the Ends of the World, the utmost Limits of Nature, &c. these having been sufficiently exploded already.

again,

again, without receiving any Damage; but those which lay upon the Sand, were some of them swept away by the Fury of the Tide, and dash'd to pieces, and others driven against the Bank, and destroy'd. These Losses being, however, repair'd, according as the Time would allow, *Alexander* sent two long Gallies before the Fleet, towards the Ocean, to view a certain Island, which they call'd <sup>2</sup> *Cillatas*, where, his Pilots told him, he might go on shore, before he entered the main Ocean: And when they had assur'd him that it was a large Island, and had commodious Harbours, besides plenty of fresh Water, he commanded the rest of the Fleet to put in there; but he, himself, with some choice Ships, proceeded further, to try if their Passage, out of the Mouth of that River into the Ocean, was likely to be safe; and having pass'd about two Hundred Furlongs from the first Island, he came within view of another, in the Ocean: Then returning to the first Island, in the River, and drawing up his Fleet under a Promontory, he sacrific'd to the <sup>3</sup> Gods, as he had receiv'd Orders from *Hammon*, and arriving at the other Island, in the Ocean, the

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<sup>2</sup> *Plutarch* calls this Island *Scyllustis*, or *Psaltucis*; *Curtius* tells us, there was an Island, but he has neither told us the Name thereof, nor pointed out the Place whereabout it may be found; so admirable a Faculty has that Author of skulking behind general Descriptions, and screening himself from Censure, by concealing the Names of Towns, Islands, &c. that it seems, as if it were a wise Contrivance of his, on purpose to avoid being detected of Errors.

<sup>3</sup> We have no more of this in *Curtius*, but only, that " *Alexander* having now, at length, satisfied his Desire, sacrificed to the Gods of the Sea, and the peculiar Deities of the Places, and then returned to his Fleet, See lib. ix. cap. 9. 27." — What this Desire of his was, which could be so easily satisfied, I cannot gather from *Curtius*, unless it be what he makes him tell his Soldiers, a little before, (viz.) lib. ix. cap. 9. 5. " That as the Bounds of Nature were not further off than there, he should then see Things unknown to any but the immortal Gods." — He had better have waited with Patience, 'till he had been a God himself, and then he might have seen all these fine Sights with half the Trouble.

next Day, he prepar'd other Victims, and sacrific'd to other Gods, in a different manner, according to the Directions, which, he said, he had receiv'd from the Oracle of *Hammon*. Then having pass'd the Mouths of the River *Indus*, he launch'd forth into the vast Ocean, to discover (as he pretended) if any Land lay beyond that Island: but, in my Opinion, it was only, that he might boast of his sailing in the Ocean beyond the *Indies*. Having there sacrificed some Bulls to *Neptune*, he threw them into the Sea, and having pour'd forth a Libation, and offer'd Sacrifices, after giving Thanks to the God, he threw the Golden Goblet, and other Vessels, over-board, praying, that the Fleet, which he now resolv'd to send under the Command of *Nearchus*, into the *Persian Gulph*, and thence up the Mouths of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, might go safe.

## C H A P. XX.

**T**H E N, returning back to *Pattala*, he found the Castle built, and *Python*, with his Forces there, having executed his Orders. Wherefore, giving the Charge of building a Haven, and Docks for Shipping, to *Hephæstion* (for he design'd to leave part of his Fleet at the City *Pattala*, where the *Indus* divides it self into two Streams) he, with the rest, purpos'd to sail down to the Ocean, by the other Branch of the River, to try whether the Passage out to Sea, was safer, or more easy that way. These two Mouths of the River *Indus* are about <sup>1</sup> eighteen Hundred Furlongs

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<sup>1</sup> *Strabo* seems to tax *Nearchus*, from whom *Arrian* takes these Dimensions, with an Error, in asserting, that *Pattala*, or the *Indian Delta*, at the Mouth of the River *Indus*, was bigger than the *Ægyptian Delta*,

Furlongs distant from each other, and so much is the Extent of the Island *Pattala* along the Sea-Coast. When he had sail'd far down the left Branch, and was now nigh the Mouth thereof, he came to a certain Lake, form'd either by the River spreading wide over a flat Country, or by additional Streams, flowing in from the adjacent Parts, and making it appear like a Bay in the Sea. Abundance of Sea-Fish are found there, of a much larger Size than our Seas produce: Wherefore steering to a certain Creek, which his Pilots directed him to, he left *Leonnatus* there, with many of the Soldiers, and all the long Gallies, but him-

Delta, at the Mouth of the River *Nile*; but he is so far from proving the Truth of what he asserts, that he proves the contrary. "Aristobulus, says he, *lib. xv. pag. 1026.* affirms, that the Mouths of the River which makes the Basis of *Pattala*, are 1000 *Stadia* distant from each other, to which *Nearchus* adds 800 more. And Onesicritus asserts, that each side thereof is 2000 *Stadia* in length, which is equal with the *Egyptian Delta*; but that, says *Strabo*, is false, for the *Egyptian Delta* is 1200, or 1300 *Stadia* every way." — I should be sorry to tax so great, and so judicious an Author, as *Strabo*, with a Mistake; I rather think it some Error in the Numerals, which I shall leave to the Criticks to correct at leisure. *Curtius* has given us little of the Contents of this Chapter worth Notice; he only says, *lib. ix. cap. 10. 1.* That "the Fleet came to Anchor near a salt Lake, whose unknown Nature deceived many, who ventured to wash themselves in it, for their Bodies grew all over scabby, and the Disease was infectious, but it was cured, at last, with Oyl." — This I humbly submit to the Decision of the Colledge of Physicians. — However he proceeds, "Then the King fending *Leonnatus* before, with a Party to dig Wells, wherever the Army shoud march, he, himself, resolved to take up his Winter-Quarters there, 'till the next Spring.' — 'Tis a wonder that *Curtius* shoud talk of Winter-Quarters, almost under the Tropick, the Heats there, being much more to be feared than the Cold. Besides, he is mistaken every way, for *Alexander* begun his March directly; and *Nearchus*, the Admiral, or Commander in Chief of his Fleet, was ordered to forbear to set sail, not 'till the Spring, but, on the contrary, the *Etesian Winds* ceased, which the Inhabitants informed him, happened annually about the setting of the Pleiades (or the beginning of *November*) and that from that Season to the Winter Solstice, or middle of *December*, was the best sailing along that Coast.

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self with some *Biremes* and *Triremes*, passed out at the Mouth of the River, and sail'd into the Ocean also that way, and found that Passage much safer and easier than the other. Then going on shore with a Party of Horse, he travel'd three Days along the Sea-Coast to view it, and try if he could find any Bays or Creeks to secure his Fleet from Storms. He also order'd many Wells to be dug, to supply his Navy with Water, and returning to *Pattala*, dispatch'd a part of his Army to help those, who were employ'd in digging the Wells, along the Coast; and order'd them, when they had finish'd their Work, to return thither. He afterward took another Voyage to the Lake, where he commanded another Haven to be made, with other places, for the safety of Ships, and leaving a Garrison there, order'd, that four Months Provisions should be got ready, and all other Necessaries, for the Army on Board.



## C H A P. XXI.

THE Season of the Year was then unfit for undertaking a Voyage, for the *Etesian* Winds reign'd, which blow not there, as with us, from the North, but from the South, and come off the vast Ocean. Besides, he was inform'd by those who knew the Country, that those Seas were safest for Navigation from the beginning of Winter, which is from the setting of the *Pleiades*, to the Winter Solstice. For, at that Time, while the Country is refreshed with great Rains, gentle Breezes of Wind arise, extremely commodious for those who try the Sea there, as well with Oars, as Sails. *Nearchus*, the Admiral of this Fleet, lay waiting for this Opportunity, to set sail. But *Alexander*, departing from *Pattala*, march'd, with a sufficient Force, to the River *Arabiuss*. Then, with the half of his Targeteers and Archers,

Archers, and some of his Troops of Auxiliary Horse and Foot, besides one Troop out of every Regiment of Horse, and all his Equestrian Archers, he turn'd towards the Ocean, on his left Hand, not only that he might cause more Wells to be dug, for the Use of his Fleet, which was to sail that way, but that he might make a sudden attempt upon the *Oritæ* (a Nation of *India*, who had long enjoy'd their Freedom) because they had made no Offers of Friendship, either to himself or his Army. The rest of the Forces, he committed to *Hephæstion*. The *Oritæ*, who were a free Nation, dwelling near the River *Arabius*, being neither strong enough to encounter him, nor willing to yield themselves Subjects to him, no sooner perceived his Approach, than they retired to the Deserts. *Alexander* having cross'd the River, which was neither wide nor deep, march'd through the greatest part of the Desert that Night, and came into a well-inhabited Country, betimes, next Morning. Then ordering his Foot Forces to follow him, at leisure, he pass'd forward with his Horse, which he divided into Parties, that they might take up the more space, and thus invaded the Territories of the *Oritæ*. Many of those who took up Arms to oppose him, were slain, and many were taken Prisoners. Then coming to a small River, he there pitch'd his Tents, but when *Hephæstion* arriv'd with the rest of his Forces, he penetrated further into the Country; and coming to a certain Village, which serv'd them instead of a Capital City, and was nam'd <sup>1</sup> *Rambacia*, he was

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* tells us, *lib. ix. cap. 10. 7.* that he built a City there, and peopled it with *Arachosians*. *Freinshemius* thinks this may be the same which *Strabo* calls *Alexandria Ariana*; and *Stephanus*, *Alexandria, Arachosia*, because it was said to be peopled with *Arachosians*. " Among the *Oritæ*, says *Pliny*, *lib. vii. cap. 9.* *Rambacia*, their chief Village, has a Haven, whose Commodiousness *Alexander* observing, built there a City, in the Confines of the *Arii*; for *Ge-drosia*, where the *Oritæ* inhabit, is a part of the Country of the *Ariani*.

pleas'd with its Situation; and imagining that it would rise to a rich and populous City, if a Colony were drawn thither, he committed the Care thereof to *Hephæstion*.



## C H A P. XXII.

HE N, with half of his Targeteers, and *Agrians*, Equestrian Archers, and other Troops of Horse, he march'd to the Frontiers of the *Gadrosi* and *Oritæ*, where, he was inform'd, there was a narrow Pass, which the *Gadrosi* and *Oritæ* had jointly seiz'd, with a design of stopping his Progress; and there they were posted advantageously enough; but as soon as they heard that he approach'd towards them, they abandon'd their Post, and fled. However, the Chiefs of the *Oritæ* came to him there, and surrender'd themselves, and Country into his Hands. He, thereupon, commanded them to assemble the People together, and order them to disperse, and return home, which, if they obey'd, no Harm should befall them. And, having deputed <sup>1</sup> *Apollophanes* their Governour, he commanded *Leonnatus*, one of his Body-Guards, with his *Agrians* and Archers, and part of the Horse and Foot Forces, to tarry there, 'till the Fleet should sail round these Coasts, and

<sup>1</sup> I cannot find a Syllable of all the Contents of this Chapter in *Curtius*; neither the deputing *Apollophanes* Governour of the *Oritæ*, nor the leaving *Leonnatus* with a Party, to see the City peopled, and wait for the arrival of the Fleet, tho' we have an account afterwards, in his History, lib. ix. cap. 10. 19. That *Leonnatus* gained a Victory over this People, when *Alexander* had marched with his Forces almost as far as the Borders of *Carmania*. So that his Readers may very well ask how *Leonnatus* came there? This is an Omission, which no regular Historian ever will be guilty of. That this Country produces several precious Aromaticks, especially Myrrh and Spikenard. See *Pliny*, *Strabo*, lib. xv. &c.

take

take care to see the City well peopled, and the Governour's Orders obey'd. In the mean while, he, with the rest of the Army (for *Hephaestion* was return'd with his Forces) march'd into the Territories of the *Gadrosi*, the greatest part of his Way lying through the Desert. In this Country, *Aristobulus* tells us, great Numbers of Myrrh Trees grow, much taller than any are to be found elsewhere; and that the *Phænicians*, who follow'd Alexander's Army, for the sake of Merchandise, gathered the Gum of that Tree (for there was a vast quantity there, the Branches being large, and never any gather'd from them before) in such prodigious Plenty, as therewith to load many Beasts of Burthen. The Country also produces Roots of Spikenard, whereof the *Phænicians* gather'd good store, and much of it was trampled under Foot, by the Army, so that a prodigious Perfume was thereby diffus'd all round them, the Air being fill'd therewith. Many other sorts of Trees are also seen there; the Leaves of one kind whereof, he tells us, somewhat resemble those of Laurel; these Trees grow chiefly in Places where the Tide flows among them, and where they are again left dry, at low Water; nevertheless, those which grow in low Grounds, whence the Sea does not leave them, at the lowest Ebb, stand uncorrupted by the salt Water: They rise to thirty Cubits in height, and happen'd to be then in Blossom. Their Flower is White, and in shape like a Violet, but much excelling it in sweetness. There grows also a Thorn there, as the same Author assures us, which produces Shoots, or Stems, with Prickles, so strong, and so thick-set, that if a Horseman should happen to be entangled therewith, he would sooner be pull'd off from his Horse, than freed from the Stem: These Thorns are said to catch fast hold of the Down of Hares, as they endeavour to pass through, insomuch, that they are taken, as Birds are with Birdlime, or Fish with Hooks. However, these Thorns are easily cut down, and being af-

terwards saw'd in pieces, much Juice issues from them, which is far richer than that of the Fig-tree, in the Spring-time, tho' much more acid.

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## C H A P. XXIII.

**T**HENCE, *Alexander* travel'd through the Country of the *Gadrosi*, by a Road very dangerous, and destitute of all the Necessaries of Life: But, above all, his Forces were ready to die with Thirst, on which account, they were oblig'd to march most by Night, and they were at a great distance from the Sea. However, he determin'd to draw them down towardsthe Sea-Coast, to try if he could find any Haven, or Creek, and also, to provide some Necessaries for his Fleet; for which Reason, he order'd Pits, or Wells to be dug, Markets to be appointed, and Creeks sought for; but the whole Coast of the *Gadrosi* was entirely waste, and uncultivated; nevertheless he dispatch'd <sup>2</sup> *Thoas*, the Son of *Mandrodorus*, with a small Party of Horse, towards the Sea, to try if he could possibly find any Creek, or fresh Water, or any thing necessary

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* has given us but a short Account of all the Hardships the Army suffered in this Country, which he still continues to call the Country of the *Oriæ*, and the Inhabitants *Indians*.—I wonder how far he designs to extend *India* this way.—Besides, the Account he has given, is so loose and general, that scarce any Parallel can be drawn between him and *Arrian*. His Commentators have been weary of him long ago, and have almost all drop him, which makes my prefent Task much the heavier: However, as I have undertaken it, I am resolv'd to go through with it, and shall then leave my Performance for the World to judge of, and the future Commentators of *Curtius* to exercise their good Nature upon.

<sup>2</sup> We have no Account in *Curtius* of this *Thoas*, nor of any Person dispatched, with a Party, to the Sea-Coast. However, he gives us some glimmering Light, to shew us whereabouts he is; for he says, *lib. ix. cap. 10. 9.* “That the Inhabitants, nigh the Sea-Coast, whom

fary for the Fleet. But when he return'd, he brought word, that he found some Fishermen upon the Coast, who liv'd in small Huts, whose Walls were compos'd of Sea-Shells, piled upon each other, and the Roofs of Fish-bones, the Back-bones serving instead of Rafters: He also added, that they had but little Water, and what they had was dug out of the Sand, and very brackish: And when, after a long Journey, he came into a part of the same Country, somewhat better inhabited, and more fruitful, he gathered up as much Corn as he could; and having seal'd it with his Signet, order'd some Horse-loads thereof to be carried to the Sea-Coast, for the Use of the Fleet; but, whilst he retir'd into a little Cottage, on the Shoar, the Soldiers) regardless of the strict Charge he had laid upon them, and afterwards, those appointed to guard it) breaking the Seals, made use of it; dividing it among those, of their own Company, who were most pinch'd with Hunger, which, at that time, was so grievous among them, that rather than they should suffer certain Death, they chose the more remote and uncertain one of dying for disobeying the King's Orders. However, *Alexander* hearing the Story, and understanding the Necessity which oblig'd them to act in that Manner, freely pardon'd them. Then passing through all the Country, and gathering as much as could be procured, he order'd *Cretbeus*, the Son of *Callatianus*, to convey it to the Sea-Coast, for the Use of the Army, on Board. He, moreover, commanded the Natives to bring him as much Corn, as they could, ready ground; as also a quantity of Dates and Cat-

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" (whom he still calls *Indians*) let their Nails grow without cutting  
 " them, and wear their Hair shagged, without combing; their Huts  
 " they build with Shells, and other Produce of the Sea: They are  
 " cloathed with the Furs of wild Beasts, and feed on Fish dried  
 " in the Sun, and sometimes on the larger Sort, which the Sea  
 " throws up upon their Coast.

tle, from the higher parts of the Country, and asfur'd them, that he would satisfy them for their Trouble. He likewise sent *Telephus*, one of his Friends, to procure Necessaries elsewhere, tho' he could afford him but a scanty Allowance of ground Corn for his Journey.



## C H A P. XXIV.

**H**E, himself, then march'd forward to *Pura*, the Capital City of the *Gadrosi*, where he arriv'd the Sixtieth Day, after his departure from the Country of the *Oritæ*. Many of the Writers of *Alexander's Life*, tell us, that all the Hardships which his Army endur'd in his Expedition through *Asia*, were not to be compared with those they underwent in that March. And *Nearchus* assures us, that tho' he could not possibly be ignorant of the Difficulties, they must struggle with, in such a Country; yet, nevertheless, he was resolv'd to go forwards. He tells us, the Inhabitants inform'd him, that no <sup>1</sup> General was ever able to conduct an Army safe through these Deserts; that *Semiramis* entring them, with great Numbers of Men, in her Flight from *India*, carry'd no more than Twenty

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* is here, as he is every where else, full of Romance, and if he sometimes stumbles upon Truth by accident, he is sure, in a little while, to lose sight of it. He tells us, *lib. ix. cap. 10. 17.* " That the King was not only griev'd, but ashamed, for being the Cause of so much Mischief to his Army." — That is not only contrary to *Arrian*, who has given us the Story a thousand times more accurately than he, but also to *Strabo*, *lib. xv. pag. 1051.* who assures us, That " *Alexander* having been inform'd, that *Semiramis* escap'd through these Deserts, with only Twenty, and " *Cyrus*, with no more than Seven, out of a whole Army, had a " mighty Ambition to lead his Forces through them, that he might boast of being successful, where they had miscarried."

through,

through, out of her whole Army: And that *Cyrus*, the Son of *Cambyses*, who also attempted to invade *India*, but miscarry'd, lost the greatest part of his Forces in those dangerous Wastes; himself, and seven of his Followers only escaping: That these Stories being told to *Alexander*, were so far from damping his Resolutions, that he was thereupon the rather excited to attempt to conduct his Army through these Parts, where both *Cyrus* and *Semiramis* had failed of Success; to shew, that no Country was unpassable by such Soldiers, led on by such a General. For these Reasons, as also that he might be nigh the Sea-Coast, to provide Necessaries for his Fleet, he chose to return that Way. However, the Heats were so vehement, and their Want of Water so much, that many of his Men, and most of their Beasts of Burthen, dy'd; some by being smother'd in the deep scorching Sands, but, the greatest part of Thirst; for they found many little *Tumuli*, or *Hillocks* of Sand, which they were oblig'd to ascend, and where no firm Footing could be had, but they sunk deep into it, as they would into Clay, or new-fallen Snow; and their Horses and Mules were no less harrafs'd, and wearied out by the excessive Heats, and intolerable Fatigues of such a March, than the Men. The great distance of their Resting-places, was one occasion of the Army's Hardship, for their Want of Water caus'd them oftentimes to continue their March much <sup>2</sup> further, than otherwise they would. If after they had travel'd all Night, they happen'd to find some Water in the Morning, their Miseries were a little abated; but if they found none,

<sup>2</sup> *Strabo* has given us almost the same Account, of all these Hardships, with *Arrian*, and no Wonder, for they copied from the same Authors. However, he adds, " That, by reason of their excessive Want of Water, they were forced to March 200, and, at other times 400 Stadia in a Day, nay, they even, sometimes, reached 600, but their March was then continued all Night. See *Strabo*, lib. xv. pag. 1051, &c.

and proceeded thus the next Day, then the length of the March, with the excessive Heats, and raging Thirst they endur'd, dispatch'd many of them.



## C H A P. XXV.

THE Soldiers then began to slay many Beasts of Burthen for their own Use; for when Provisions fail'd, they consulted together, and kill'd both Horses and Mules, and eat their Flesh, and afterwards excus'd themselves, by pretending that they died of Heat, or Thirst, and there was none who took the Pains to enquire thoroughly into the Affair: Even *Alexander* himself, 'tis said, was not ignorant of it; but as their Necessities pleaded in their behalf, he deem'd it Prudence rather to conceal his Knowledge thereof, than to seem to authorize it, by suffering the guilty Persons to escape Punishment. And now, to such Straits were they reduc'd, that neither the Sick, nor those who were weary with Travel, could be drawn any further, partly for want of Beasts, and partly for want of Carriages; which the Soldiers themselves, because they could not easily drag them through the Sands, broke in pieces. Many also broke their Waggons, before they begun this March, thro' fear that they should be forced to leave the shorter and nearer Path, and take that which was further about, only because it was more convenient for Carriages. On this account, many were left behind; some by reason of Sicknes; some of <sup>1</sup> Heat and Weariness, and

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<sup>1</sup> I cannot imagine how *Curtius* came to omit so fair an Opportunity of entertaining his Readers with a florid Description of the Sun's Heat, and scorching Sands here; unless it be, because he had done it before, in a Country nigh twenty Degrees further North, *But*

and others of Thirst; and none took care, either to restore them to Health again, or to help them forwards; for the Army mov'd apace, and the Whole was so much in Danger, that they were oblig'd to neglect the Care of particular Persons. If any chanc'd to fall asleep, by reason of the vast Fatigues of a hard Nights March, when they awaked, if they had Strength, they follow'd the Army by the Track of their Foot-steps, tho' few of them ever came up with it, the far greatest part sinking into the Sands, like Sailors into the Ocean, and so perishing. Another Accident also happen'd, which equally affected Man and Beast; for the *Gadrosian* Country, like the *Indies*, is subject to Rains, while the *Eteian* Winds blow; but these Rains fall not in the Plains, but among the Mountains, where the Clouds, not reaching their Tops, are, as it were, pent up by the Winds, and dissolv'd into Showers. When the Army therefore, encamp'd nigh a small Brook, for the sake of the Water, the same, about the second Watch of the

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But to pass that by, he tells us, *lib. ix. cap. 10, 11.* " That the Scarcity of Provisions at first, and after wards an extream Famine caused them to slay their Carriage-Beasts, not sparing so much as their Horses; so that for want of Beasts of Burthen, they were forced to make a Bonefire of abundance of their rich Spoils." — He then acquaints us, *lib. ix. cap. 10, 13.* That the Famine was followed by a Pestilence, for the Use of Meats of an unwholesome Juice, added to the Toils of their March, and the Trouble of their Minds, had bred such a raging Distemper among them, that they could neither rest, nor proceed, without the Loss of many of their Numbers: If they rested, the Famine, and, if they travelled, the Pestilence attacked them." — Whether the eating of Camels, or Horse-Flesh, will cause an Epidemical Disease, I leave to the decision of the College. The most mysterious part of the whole Paragraph is, that the Famine should be so much the more dreadful when they rested, than when they travelled; for he has already assured us, that the Country afforded them not one Morsel, nor could they have any thing but what they carried with them. — I always thought that Travelling had got People a Stomach, and have often heard of lying in Bed 'till Noon, to save a Breakfast.

Night

Night (being swell'd with sudden Rains, which none of them perceiv'd) poured down such a dreadful <sup>2</sup> Inundation, that many Women and Children, who follow'd the Camp, with the Royal Furniture, and the Baggage Mules, which were left alive, were swept away. Nay, so furious was the Deluge, that the Soldiers were hardly able to save themselves, many of them losing their Arms, and some few their Lives; many also, who had long endur'd the utmost Extremities of Heat and Thirst, finding plenty of Water, at their first coming here, drank to excess, and died. And hence it was, that *Alexander* would never, after that time, suffer them to encamp near a Torrent, but at the distance of twenty Furlongs, at least, to hinder his Men from rushing too violently forwards, and drinking too large Draughts, to their own Destruction; he also took care, that those who came first, should not run into the Water with their Feet, and thereby render it unwholsom to the rest of the Army.

<sup>2</sup> This would have been an excellent Theme for a Rhetorician to have descanted upon; but *Curtius* has not said one Word about it. *Strabo* has told us the very same Story with *Arrian*, and almost in the same Words, for which reason I shall forbear inserting his Description, to avoid repetition, and only refer my Reader to his *Geography*, lib. xv. pag. 1052.



## C H A P. XXVI.

WHILE the Army labour'd under the most dreadful Inconveniencies of Heat and Thirst in this Desert, *Alexander* perform'd one gallant Act, which I can by no means pass over in Silence, tho' some Authors affirm it was not done here, but in the Deserts of *Parapamisus*. As the Forces continu'd their March through these Sands, which reflected the burning Rays of the Sun upon them, it was necessary that they should send out Parties daily to seek for Water ; the King, tho' ready to faint away with Thirst, march'd on Foot, at the Head of his Troops, that his Officers and Soldiers (as is usual in such cases) might the more patiently endure those Hardships, which their General shared in common with them. <sup>1</sup> In the mean while, some light-arm'd Soldiers, who were dispatch'd to search for Water, found a small quantity, not far from the Army, in the Channel of a Brook, almost dry'd up, but it was very muddy : However, they drew it up, and bringing it in a Shield, presented it to the King, as a choice Gift. He receiv'd it, and returning due Thanks to those who brought it, poured it immediately upon the Ground, in presence of the Army. This Action of his encourag'd the Soldiers, as much as if every Man had drank a share of that Water which he refus'd to taste ; and his extraordinary Self-denial

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* has given us this same Story, as happening in the Deserts of *Sogdia*, *lib. vii. cap. 5. 3.* and his whole Relation thereof would be entertaining enough, were not the Scene unskillfully laid ; for that the Sun should scorch so much ; in a Country so distant from the Tropick, where its Rays fall so obliquely, is incredible. However, as he always covets rather to tell strange Stories, than true ones, he imagined it might go down well enough, with the generality of his Readers.

is no less praise-worthy, than the noble Example he shew'd of a wise and consummate General. Another <sup>2</sup> Accident happen'd here, which, if it had not been speedily remedied, might have occasion'd the Loss of the whole Army; for the Sands being mov'd to and fro, by the Winds, and all the Surface reduc'd to a Level, their Guides themselves were at a loss how to conduct the Army any further: For no sign of any Track appear'd to point out the Path; nor was there so much as a Tree, nor a Shrub, nor any certain Hillock, to be seen to direct them; besides, they were unacquainted with the manner of observing the Motions of the Sun by Day, and the Stars by Night, to regulate their March, as Mariners at Sea do their Course by the two Bears; the *Pbænicians* by the Lesser, but most other Nations by the Greater. In this Difficulty, *Alexander* was forced to proceed as Chance directed him. However, he order'd his Army to turn to the Left, and himself, with a few choice Horse, went before to point out the Road, but their Horses quite spent with Heat, were most of them left behind; insomuch, that only He, with Five of his Followers, pass'd through the Sands, to the Sea-Shore, safe on Horse-back. However, on their arrival there, they dug nigh the Coast, and found plenty of Water, sweet, and clear; whereupon he order'd the Army thither, and, after that, travel'd seven Days along the Sea-Coast, and always found plenty of Water. Then his Guides assuring him they knew the Way again, they left the Sea, and led the Army into the inland Parts again.

<sup>2</sup> This Circumstance neither *Curtius* nor *Strabo* have given us. *Plutarch* adds, pag. 40. "That of 120000 Foot, and 15000 Horse, *Alexander* scarce brought back a fourth part out of India; Diseases, ill Diet, and Famine, had so much diminished their Numbers."—— But then it must be understood, that not above a third Part of these Forces, perhaps, accompanied *Alexander* through these Deserts, a large Detachment having been sent through the Country of the *Drangæ* and *Arachosians*, under the Conduct of *Craterus*; and great Numbers being put on Board the Fleet, to sail into *Persia*, with *Nearibus*.



## C H A P. XXVII.

AS soon as *Alexander* arrived at the Capital City of the *Gadrosi*, he allow'd his Soldiers some Rest. He then deposed <sup>1</sup> *Apollophanes*, because he had taken no care to observe what was order'd him, and *Thoas* was deputed to govern in his stead; but he dying soon after, *Sibyrtius* was appointed to succeed him: He was first made Governour of *Carmania*, but that being given to *Tlepolemus*, the Son of *Pythobphanes*, he was promoted to the Government of the *Arachbotti* and *Gadrosi*. And now the King was upon his March for *Carmania*, when he receiv'd News, that <sup>2</sup> *Philip* (whom he had constituted his Lieutenant in *India*) was basely murther'd, by the mercenary Soldiers, but that the Murtherers were most of them seiz'd, and put to Death by the *Macedonians*, who were *Philip*'s Guards, partly in the Fact, and partly afterwards. He then dispatch'd Orders to *Eudemus* and *Taxiles*, by Letters, that they should take care of the Administration of Affairs, in

<sup>1</sup> From *Alexander*'s Entrance into the Territories of the *Gadrosi*, to his arrival at their Capital City, *Strabo* tells us pag. 1053, was Sixty Days. *Curtius* affirms, lib. ix. cap. 10. 20. "That *Menon* being dead, *Sibyrtius* was appointed to succeed him in the Government of *Gadrosia*." — An English Historian might as well say, that *Queen Elizabeth* dying, *Queen Ann* mounted the Throne. The Truth is, *Menon* dying, *Apollophanes* was ordered his Successor, he being deposed for Male-Administration, *Thoas* was deputed in his Place; and he living but a short while, the Government was then bestowed upon *Sibyrtius*.

<sup>2</sup> This was *Philip* the Son of *Macbates*, who, as *Arrian* has told us, lib. v. cap. 8. was constituted Governour of these Provinces; so that *Raderus* is mistaken, in supposing him to be the Son of *Balacrus*, who commanded the *Theffalian* Cavalry at the Battle of *Arbela*.

that

that Province, for a while, 'till he could send a Deputy thither. When he enter'd *Carmania*, 3 *Craterus* came to him, with the rest of his Forces, and the Elephants, and brought *Ordones* with him, whom he feiz'd, because he had attempted to Revolt. At the same time arriv'd *Stasenor*, Governor of the *Arii* and *Drangæ*, and *Pbarismenes*, the Son of *Pbratapernes*, Governor of *Paribia* and *Hyrcania*. 4 *Cleander* also, with *Sitalces* and *Heracon*, Captains of the Forces which were left with *Parmenio*, in *Media*, waited upon him there, with a great part of the Army under their Command. *Cleander* and *Sitalces* were accused by the *Medians*, as well as by the Army, of spoiling their Temples, removing their ancient Ornaments, and committing many other Acts of Avarice, Lust, and Cruelty, among them, and the Crimes laid to their Charge being fully prov'd against them; they were order'd to be put to Death; that other Governors, or Presidents, or Lieutenants, who should succeed them, might be deterr'd from treading in their

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3 This has been taken Notice of already. *Curtius* told us, That "Craterus dispatched a Messenger, to acquaint *Alexander*, that he had seized *Ozines* and *Zariaspes*, two Noble *Perians*, who had attempted to raise an Insurrection, and secured them." — Who this *Zariaspes* was, is not known, his Name occurring no where else. *Ozines* is called *Ordones*, by *Arrian*; but what *Curtius* is chiefly blameable for, in this place, is, because he has neither acquainted us where these two Noble *Perians* were taken, nor where *Craterus* met *Alexander* with his Forces: And this, not only *Arrian*, but also *Strabo* has done; for he says, That "Craterus departing from "the River *Hydaspes*, marched through the Countries of the *Arach* "and *Drangæ*, into *Carmania*, lib. xv. pag. 1051.

4 *Curtius* ushers in his Tenth Book with this Story, "Then came *Cleander*, *Sitalces*, *Heracon*, and *Agathon*, who had executed the King's Commands upon *Parmenio*." — Who this *Agathon* was, is not known. *Arrian* mentions no such Person as any ways concerned in that Fact. *Curtius*, indeed, tells us of one *Agathon*, who, he says, was made Governor of *Babylon*, but this cannot be the same. The Circumstance of *Heracon*'s escaping Punishment at that time, and being afterwards apprehended, and accused by the *Susans*, he has not so much as touched upon.

Footsteps, for fear of meeting with their Punishment; and such exemplary Pieces of Justice, was one great Means of continuing the Nations, under *Alexander's* Command, firm in their Allegiance, whether they were subdu'd by force of Arms, or yielded voluntarily; notwithstanding they were so many, and lay so remote from one another: For he would never suffer any Governour of a Province to injure the People committed to his Care. *Heracon*, at that time, baffled his Accusers; but being soon after feiz'd by the *Susians*, and accus'd of demolishing a Temple of theirs, he also suffer'd Death. <sup>5</sup> *Stasanor* and *Pbratapernes*, brought vast Numbers of Camels and Beasts of Burthen, to the King; for when they heard that he had led his Army through the Country of the *Gadrosi*, they easily imagin'd, he would meet with all the Inconveniencies and Hardships imaginable, for which Reason they brought him that Supply; and, indeed, both they, and the Beasts, arriv'd very seasonably. He then divided the Beasts and Camels partly among the Governours, and partly among the Troops, Centuries, and Cohorts, as their Number would allow, or the others Occasions requir'd.

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<sup>5</sup> "The King, says *Curtius*, lib. ix. cap. 10. 17. being grieved, "and ashamed at his being the Cause of so great a Mortality, dif-  
"patched Messengers prelently away to *Pbratapernes*, Governour of  
"*Parthia*, to send him some Camels Loaden with Provisions ready  
"drest." — Had *Curtius* rightly considered the vast distance  
between *Parthia* and *Gadrosia*, or *Carmania*, he would easily have  
found that Beef, or Mutton, boiled, or roasted, in the former Province,  
would be so far from coming piping hot into the other, that  
it would not be fit even for a *Frenchman* to eat. *Arrian*, with  
more Judgment, tells us only, that they brought him great  
Numbers of Camels, and Beasts of Burthen: However, they might  
perhaps, bring him Beasts for Slaughter, alive; but I cannot suppose  
the *Macedonians* so sharp-set, but they would rather stay the  
dressing of their Victuals, than choose to have them brought ready  
drest, in Panniers, out of *Parthia*. But the mischief of all is, *Alex-  
ander* was then in *Carmania*, a plentiful Country, and had no rea-  
son to send for Provisions elsewhere.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

SOME Authors tell us (but with no great probability of Truth) that *Alexander*, lying extend'd with his Friends, upon two Chariots chain'd together, and having their Ears entertain'd with the most delicious Musick, led his Army through *Carmania*, the Soldiers following him with Dances and Garlands; and that the *Carmanians* prepar'd all things for so pompous a Proceession, through their Territories. They also add, that this was done in Emulation of the ancient <sup>1</sup> *Bacchanals* of *Dionysus*; for the Story goes, that *Bacchus* having conquer'd *India*, pass'd through the greatest part of *Asia* in this manner, and, on that account, obtain'd the Name of *Triumphus*; and that warlike Pomp's or Proceessions, have, ever since that time, been call'd Triumphs. But as neither *Ptolemy*, nor *Aristobulus*, nor any grave and judicious Author has mention'd this, let it suffice that it is not here told as any ways credible; for *Aristobulus* gives us a quite different Account of the Matter, namely, that *Alexander* having got safe into *Carmania*, gave Thanks, and offer'd Sacrifices to the Gods for his Victories in *India*, and the preservation of his Army in the Country of the *Gadrosi*, and tells us, that he also exhibited *Gymnick*, and *Musical Sports*, as usual. He then appointed <sup>2</sup> *Peu-*

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* has made a vast long Story of this, *lib. ix. cap. 10. 24.* and paints it forth, like an Orator, in the most glaring Colours. *Plutarch*, *pag. 41.* and *Diodorus*, *p. 573.* also take notice of it; to any of which Authors my Reader may easily have recourse for all the Circumstances relating to it.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the Contents of the remaining part of this Chapter, are just hinted at by *Curtius*, but the Observations thereupon, I shall reserve for the *Indian History*.

cestas to be one of his Body-Guards, for he design'd to bestow the Government of *Persia* upon him ; and honour'd him, with this, in the mean time, as a Testimony of his Favour, for his eminent Service among the *Mall*. The Number of his Body-Guards were then Seven, *Leonnatus*, the Son of *Anteus* ; *Hephæstion*, the Son of *Amyntor* ; *Lysimachus*, the Son of *Agathocles* ; *Aristonous*, the Son of *Pisæus* ; these were *Pelæans* : *Perdiccas*, the Son of *Orontes* the *Orestian* ; and *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*, and *Python*, the Son of *Cratedes*, *Eordeans* ; but an Eighth was then added, namely, *Peucestas*, who sav'd *Alexander's* Life, by defending him with his Shield. About this time *Nearcbus*, Commander in Chief, or Admiral of the Royal Navy, having sail'd along the Coast of the *Oriæ*, *Gndroſi*, and *Icbtbyopbagi*, arriv'd at the habitable Part of the *Carmanian* Shore, and coming to the King, related whatever had happen'd to him, and what he saw worthy of Observation in that Voyage through the foreign Ocean. Hereupon, he was immediately sent back to the Fleet, with Orders to sail to the *Susian* Shores, and the Mouth of the *Tigris*. But how he perform'd this Voyage from the River *Indus*, to the *Persian* Gulph, and the Mouth of the *Tigris*, I shall relate in a separate Tract, from *Nearcbus* himself, whose Greek Journal thereof is still extant, and shall annex it to this History, if Life allows me Time and Opportunity to finish it. *Alexander* then dispatch'd away *Hephæstion*, with the greatest part of his Army, and the Elephants, and Beasts of Burthen along the Sea-Coast, from *Carmania* into *Persia*, because, as he was to make that Journey in the Winter Season, the Sea-Coast of that Country, was not only the mildest, but the Fleet abounded in all things necessary for the Army on board.





## C H A P. XXIX.

**H**E then, with his best, and most expeditious light-arm'd Foot, his Auxiliary Horse, and some part of his Archers, march'd towards *Pasargadæ*, a City in *Perſia*, having before, sent *Stasenor* back to his own Province: When he arriv'd on the Confines of *Perſia*, he found not <sup>1</sup> *Pbraſaortes*, his Lieutenant, executing his Office (for he dy'd while *Alexander* was employ'd in his *Indian Wars*) but *Orſines* acted in his stead; not by any especial Order, but because he deem'd it not unworthy of *Alexander*, that a *Perſian* should undertake the Administration, since none besides, were at that time, capable of managing it. *Atropates*, Governour of *Media*, came to meet the King there, and brought with him <sup>2</sup> *Baryaxes* the *Mede* (who had put the Royal *Tiara* upon his Head, and presumed to style himself King of *Media* and *Perſia*) and with him all his Adherents, who had endeavour'd to Revolt, whom *Alexander* caused to be put to Death. He was strangely distract'd in Mind, when he came to understand what

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<sup>1</sup> This *Pbraſaortes* is mentioned, as being deputed Governor of *Perſia* by *Alexander*, *lib. iii. cap. 18.* but he dying, *Orſines* took upon himself the Administration of Affairs. *Curtius* takes no notice of *Pbraſaortes*, and gives *Orſines* a Character vastly different from that which *Arrian* has allow'd him, the greatest part whereof is proved to be false by Mr. *Le Clerc* in the Criticism prefixed to this Work.

<sup>2</sup> Some Commentators have fancied this *Baryaxes*, the *Mede*, who was brought to *Alexander* by *Atropates*, to be the same whom *Curtius* mentions, by the Name of *Zariaspes* the *Perſian*, who, he says, was brought by *Craterus*, *lib. ix. cap. 10. 19.* Their Stories bear some faint Reſemblance to each other; and it is no new thing in him, to confound Persons, Places, and Times, because he studied Elegance more than Accuracy.

Havock had been made of the Tomb of *3 Cyrus*, which, *Aristobulus* tells us, he found rifled and broke in pieces. This Tomb was plac'd in the Royal Gardens at *Pasargadae*, and round it, was planted a Grove of all kind of Trees: The place also was well watered; and the Surface of the Earth, all round, cloathed with a beautiful Verdure. The Basis there-

3 The whole Story of *Cyrus's* Tomb here, is copied from *Aristobulus*, who was not only an Eye-witness thereof, but was ordered to repair it, after it was plundered, and almost demolished. *Plutarch*, pag. 42, gives us an Abridgment of some part thereof; and *Strabo*, pag. 1061 and 1062, has related the whole, conformable to *Arrian*. So that there is no doubt but *Curtius*'s Narrative is a Fiction. However, I shall give it my Readers as follows, " *Alexander*, says he, " lib. x. cap. 1. 30. had commanded *Cyrus's* Tomb to be opened, intending to perform some Ceremonies in Honour to his Memory, as was pretended, but in reality to search for hid Treasures; for it was reported, all over *Persia*, that a vast quantity of Gold and Silver was piled up there; But he found nothing but a rotten Shield, two *Scythian* Bows, and a rusty Scymiter. However, *Alexander* caused a Crown of Gold to be placed upon the Coffin, and the Cloak, which he was wont to wear, to be spread over it; and was astonished to think, that so great a Monarch, and withal, so Rich, should have no more Cost bestowed upon the Interrment, than one of his ordinary Subjects." — Then follows the Accusation of *Bagoas*, the Eunuch, against *Orfines*, which has been before prov'd inconsistent with Truth and Reason, and so, indeed, is the whole Story: For, in the first place, *Alexander* did not command *Cyrus's* Tomb to be open'd, but some Thieves had broke it open, and rifled it (whilst he was in *India*) carrying away all they could possibly remove. *Plutarch*, pag. 42, tells us, he put *Polymachus* to Death for this, tho' he was a Man of Quality, and a Native of *Pella*. *Strabo* affirms, that it was not done by the Governour, but by a parcel of Robbers, pag. 1062. And *Arrian* assures us, that tho' the *Magi* were seized and examined, with the utmost strictness, concerning that Affair, nothing was found out. Secondly, whereas, he says, " nothing was found in the Tomb, but a rotten Shield, &c." — This must be false, for both *Arrian* and *Strabo* tell us the contrary; so that *Alexander* could not be seized with so much Astonishment, to think of the Meanness of his Interrment; for, by the Remains of what he then saw, he might easily form a Judgment of what had once been there. Besides, *Alexander* had either seen it himself before, or, at least, *Aristobulus* had, and, undoubtedly, gave him a Description thereof. *Aristobulus* was then ordered to see it repaired, exactly as it was at first.

of consisted of one large Stone, of a Quadrangular form. Above, was a small Edifice, with an arch'd Roof of Stone, and a Door or Entrance, so very narrow, that the slenderest Man could scarce pass through. Within this Edifice was the Golden Coffin, wherein the Body of *Cyrus* was preserv'd, as also the Bed, whose Supporters were of Maffy Gold, curiously wrought, the Covering thereof was of *Babylonian* Tapestry, the Carpets underneath of the finest wrought Purple: The Cloak, and other Royal Robes, were of *Babylonian*, but his Drawers, of *Median* Workmanship. Their Colour was chiefly Purple, but some of them were of various Dies. The Chain, round his Neck, his Bracelets, his Ear-rings, and his Sword, were all of Gold, adorn'd with precious Stones. A costly Table was also placed there, and a Bed, whereon lay the Coffin which contain'd the King's Body. There was also, within the Enclosure, nigh the Ascent to the Tomb, a small House built for the *Magi*, who had the keeping of the Tomb: That Charge was confer'd on them by *Cambyses*, the Son of *Cyrus*, and descended from the Fathers to their Children. They had a Sheep allow'd, every Day, for their Maintenance, with a certain quantity of Wine and Flower; and a Horse was sent them, once every Month, to sacrifice to *Cyrus*. The 4 Inscription, which was wrote in the *Persian* Language, was to this purpose: *O Mortal, I am CYRUS the Son of CAMBYSES, Founder of the Persian Monarchy, and Sovereign of Asia, grudge me not therefore this Monument.*

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<sup>4</sup> *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Alexander*, has given us this Inscription somewhat fuller: He says, it was written in the *Persian* Language; but *Alexander* commanded this to be carv'd in Greek, below the other. *O Man, whoever thou art, or whencesoever thou comest (for I know thou wilt come) I am CYRUS, Founder of the Persian Monarchy; envy me not therefore the small Portion of Earth wherein my Body lies enclosed.*

## C H A P. XXX.

ALEXANDER had had a vast Ambition of seeing this Monument, from the Moment he became Lord of the *Persian* Monarchy, but at his coming there, he found all gone, except the Bed and Coffin ; nay, they had not even spar'd the Royal Body, for the Cover of the Coffin was torn off, and taken away, and the Body cast forth ; they had attempted also to carry off the Coffin, and had accordingly battered and bruised it much, by endeavouring to break it in Pieces, for the more easy Conveyance ; but not being able to compass their Designs, they were forced to leave it. *Aristobulus* assures us, that he was appointed by *Alexander* to see this Monument restor'd, that the Parts of the Royal Body which still remain'd, should be again laid in the Coffin, and a new Cover be made, that whatever was broke, should be made whole : That the Bed should be adorn'd with Crowns, and other Ornaments like those which had been taken away, the same, both as to Number, Form, and Value ; and that the Entrance into the little Edifice, should be wall'd up with Stone, and the Royal Signet apply'd thereto. After this, *Alexander* seiz'd the *Magi*, and examin'd them strictly concerning the Authors of this Villany, but they would neither confess any thing of themselves, nor others, and there being no Proof against them, they were acquitted. He then return'd to the Royal Palace of the *Persian* Monarchs, which he had before laid in Ashes, which Act of his I can neither commend, nor did he himself approve it, at his Return. Then

many Crimes were brought against <sup>1</sup> *Orsines*, who had assumed the Administration of Affairs in *Perisia*, after the decease of *Pbraisaortes* the Governour ; as his spoiling their Temples, defacing the Royal Monuments, and putting many of the *Perarians* unjustly to Death, whereupon he was order'd to be Crucified. After this <sup>2</sup> *Peucestas*, one of his Body-Guards (for his singular Merit in many instances, but especially for preserving his Life among the *Malli*, with the hazard of his own) was made Governour of *Perisia*. He was a Man who conform'd himself to the Customs of that Nation ; and, in order to endear himself to them the more, no sooner enter'd upon his Government, than he array'd himself in the *Median* Habit, learn'd the *Perisan* Language, and was the only one among the *Macedonians*, who shew'd an exact Conformity to them in all respects ; and this Demeanour of his, not only gain'd him *Alexander's* Applause, but the *Perarians* gladly receiv'd him, because he seem'd to prefer their Habits and Manners to those of his own Country.

<sup>1</sup> It is a great pity, that the Character which *Curtius* has given this *Orsines*, is not just, and that the Crimes laid to his charge cannot be imputed only as malicious Accusations of *Bagoas* the Eunuch, but the contrary appears here from *Arrian's* Narration, and is much more probable.

<sup>2</sup> This Advancement of *Peucestas*, to the Government of *Perisia*, and making him one of his Body-Guards, is not taken notice of by *Curtius*, unless, perhaps, it might have been in the Chasm which presently follows. However, he has oblig'd us with an extraordinary piece of News from *Cænus*, lib. x. cap. 1. 43. concerning the Posture of Affairs in *Greece*.— This, his Commentators have been justly startled at, because *Cænus* was, long before that time, dead in *India*, according to his own Account, lib. ix. cap. 3. 20. upon which some were for transplanting the Paragraph, and fixing it elsewhere ; but *Freinbemius* finding that would not do, has devifed a much better, (viz.) by expunging the Name, and the *Delphini* Editor has followed his Advice. However, perhaps *Curtius* was of the Opinion with the present Race of Negroe-Slaves in the *West-Indies*. That when a Person dies abroad, he goes home into his own Country.

The End of the Sixth Book.



# ARRIAN'S *History*

## OF

### ALEXANDER'S *Expedition.*

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## BOOK VII.

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### CHAP. I.

**W**HILE Alexander tarry'd at *Pasar-gadæ* and *Persepolis*, he begun to entertain a strange Desire of sailing down the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, into the *Persian Sea*, and of observing their Mouths, in the same manner, as he had already observ'd those of the River *Indus*: Some <sup>1</sup> Authors tell us, he also design'd to sail along the *Arabian* and

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<sup>1</sup> "Alexander, says *Curtius*, lib. x. cap. 1. 17. begun to entertain vast Designs, intending first to conquer all the Sea-Coast of the Eastern World, and then to pass from *Syria*, into *Africa*, to be reveng'd

and *Aethopian Coast*, as also to *Libya* and *Numidia*, and beyond Mount *Atlas*, even to *Gades*, and our *Sea*; and that when he had subdu'd *Africa*, and reduc'd *Carthage*, he imagin'd he might justly be stiled King of the World, when the *Persian* and *Median* Monarchs, who held but a small and inconsiderable part, entitled themselves Lords of *Asia*. Others say, that his Ambition prompted him to sail through the *Euxine Sea*, against the *Scythians*, dwelling near the *Palus Maeotis*; and others, that he propos'd to coast round *Sicily*, by the Promontory *Iapygium*; for then it was that the *Roman Name* begun to spread far and wide, and gave him much Umbrage. Thus are Authors divlded in their Opinions concerning his ambitious Designs. As for my part, I can neither tell for certain, what he design'd, nor care much to proceed to gues-work; only this, I think, I may affirm, that he entertain'd no mean nor trifling Ideas, and that what part of the Earth soever he had proceeded to conquer, he would never have been sati-

" reveng'd upon the *Carthaginians*. From thence he was to march  
" through the Deserts of *Numidia*, and sail to *Gades*, for there it was  
" reported that *Hercules* had fix'd his Pillars. Then he propos'd to  
" march through *Spain*, and passing over the *Alps* into *Italy*, take  
" the nearest Way to *Epirus*; and accordingly he issud out Orders  
" to his Deputies in *Mesopotamia*, to cut down Wood in *Libanus*,  
" and convey it to *Thapsacus*, a City in *Syria*, to build therewith  
" vast Ships, all *Septiremes*, and from thence convey them down  
" the Stream to *Babylon*. — This he vouches for Truth, but I  
much doubt it, for several Reasons: First, How could he propos'e  
to convey his Fleet from the *Red Sea*, into the *Mediterranean*, no  
Passage being then found out? Secondly, As *Libanus* is in *Syria*,  
he ought to have sent Orders to his Deputies there, and not to those  
in *Mesopotamia*, to cut down Timber for his Navy. Thirdly, If  
he really design'd to convey his Fleet out of the *Red Sea*, or *Persian*  
*Gulph*, into the *Mediterranean*, it had been much more proper,  
instead of building Ships at *Thapsacus*, and conveying them to  
*Babylon*, to have convey'd his whole Fleet from *Babylon* to *Thapsacus*,  
and thence by Carriages, over Land, to *Tripolis*, or *Sidon*, or  
some other Port in the *Mediterranean*. This had been practicable;  
but *Curtius* was ignorant of the Situation of the Country, and  
has therefore made *Alexander* give very foolish Orders.

fied,

fied, even tho' he had joyn'd *Europe* to *Asia*, and the *British Islands* to *Europe*, but would always have been roving after some Places more remote from human Knowledge; and if he could have found no other Foe to have encounter'd, his own Mind would have kept him in a continual State of Warfare. And, on this account, I cannot forbear giving a due Praise to some of the <sup>2</sup> *Indian Sages*, who, as they were walking in the Meads, where they were wont to meditate, being seiz'd, and carry'd before him, and his Army, only stamp'd upon the Ground with their Feet; and when the King, by his Interpreter, enquir'd the Reason thereof, he receiv'd an Answer to this effect: "Every Man, O *Alexander*, possesses as much Earth as we now tread upon; and thou art a Man no way different from others, but in making a greater Stir, in being more Restless, and in creating more Trouble, both to thy self, and others, by roving so far from thy native Soil: But in a short Time thou shalt die, and then shalt thou possess no more Space than will serve thy Body for Burial,

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<sup>2</sup> We have not a Word of these *Indian Sages* in *Curtius*, tho' perhaps, his account of them, if ever he wrote any, might have perished in one of the Chafins of his Tenth Book. *Plutarch*, p. 39. tells us, that "*Alexander* took Ten of them Prisoners, who had been the most active in persuading *Sabbas* to rebel, and put several difficult Questions to them; letting them know, at the same time, that those whose Answers were not to purpose, should be put to Death, and he appointed the Eldest of them to be Judge. The Questions, with their Answers, he gives us, but they are too long for my present Design, for which Reason I shall refer my Readers, for satisfaction, to his Life of *Alexander*. They were call'd *Gymnosophists* by the *Greeks*, because they went naked.





## C H A P. II.

ALEXANDER prais'd the Reflections of these Sages, and own'd their Observations to be just ; yet, nevertheless, he ceased not to act contrary to their Advice. He is also said to have admir'd *Diogenes* the *Sinopean*, whom he found on the *Corinthian Isthmus*, basking himself in the Sun ; And when he (with a Band of Targeteers and Auxiliary Foot, his Attendants) drew near, and ask'd him if he wanted any Thing ? the *Cynick* answer'd, Nothing ; but only that he, and his Train, would retire a little, out of his Sun-shine. By both these Instances we may plainly perceive, that *Alexander* shew'd no Aversion to the wise Admonitions of Philosophers, only his insatiable Thirst of Glory, hurried him away after other Pursuits. When he arrived at the City *Taxila*, and saw that Sect of *Indians* who went naked, he was surpriz'd at their extraordinary Patience, in enduring Hardships, and desirous that one of their Number would accompany him : But the Eldest, and most Venerable among them, <sup>2</sup> *Dandamis*, by Name, whose Dictates the rest obeyed, made Answer, “ That he would neither accompany him himself, nor suffer any of his Followers so <sup>“ to</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Plutarch*, pag. 8. gives us this Story at length, much to the same purpose, only he adds, that “ *Alexander* was so affected with his “ Answer, and surpriz'd at the Greatness of his Soul, that as he “ went away, he told his Followers, who were laughing at the “ Moroseness of the *Cynick*, That if he were not *Alexander*, he “ would rather chuse to be *Diogenes*, than any other Man.”

<sup>2</sup> *Plutarch*, pag. 40. acquaints us, that “ *Dandamis*, hearing One-“ scriitus talk of *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, and *Diogenes*, told him, he “ thought them Men of great Parts, and to have err'd in nothing

“ to do : That he was *Jove's* Son, as well as *Alexander* : That he wanted nothing from him, being content with what he already enjoy'd. And also added, That he, and his Soldiers, who had rov'd over so many Lands and Seas, seem'd to have no real Benefit thereby, nor to fix any Bounds to their excessive Toils ; he said he had nothing to request, which was in another's Power to bestow, and should be no ways concern'd, if what he already had, should be taken from him ; for the Climate of that Country would always afford Fruits in their Seasons, sufficient for his Sustenance ; and, whenever he dy'd, he should, without Reluctancy, part with his Body, as a disagreeable Companion.” When *Alexander* heard this, he would not force him to follow him, but he prevail'd upon 3 *Calanus*, one of their Number, whom *Megasthenes*, for that Reason, condemns of Inconstancy, and the rest of the Sages accus'd of Folly, for leaving the Felicity which they thought themselves possess'd of, and acknowledging *any* other God except the supremē Being.

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“ so much as in being too partial for the Laws and Constitutions of their Country ; tho' others say, he only ask'd him the Reason why *Alexander* undertook so long a Voyage into these Parts.” — This last seems a little to correspond with what we have in *Arrian*. *Strabo*, lib. xv. pag. 1043. in his Account thereof, differs not much from *Plutarch*, only he calls him *Mandanus*.

3 *Plutarch* assures us, that when *Onesicritus* was sent by *Alexander* to desire those *Gymnosopists* to come to him, this *Calanus* very arrogantly commanded him to strip, and hear what he said naked, otherwife he would not speak one Word to him, tho' he came from *Jove* himself; however, *Dandamis* used him more courteously.





## C H A P. III.

THESE Things I have thought fit to record concerning *Calanus*, because he deserves a Place in this History; for when he afterwards came to be sick in *Perisia*, as he had never been in his own Country, he could not endure to confine himself to the Rules and Diet prescribed to infirm People, but rather chose to Address the King, telling him, that he should esteem it a singular Happiness to die in the State wherein he was before he came to feel any Disorder, which might force him to change his ancient Way of Living. The King, at first, strenuously oppos'd his Request, but finding him inflexible (and that if one sort of Death was deny'd him, he would seek another) order'd a Pile to be built, according to his Desire, and committed the over-sight of the Affair to *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*. Some add, that all Preparations for that Solemnity of Horses and Men, as well arm'd, as unarm'd, were made by *Alexander* himself; and that some were appointed to strow di-

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Strabo has given us a prodigious deal concerning the Death of this *Calanus*, in his fifteenth Book, pag. 1045, &c. and Plutarch has told the Story pretty full. He says, pag. 42. That " *Calanus* having been a little while troubled with a Looseness, requested that he might have a Funeral Pile erected, to which he came on Horseback, and, after he had said a few Prayers, sprinkled himself, and cut off some of his Hair, to throw into the Fire, as was usual, on such Occasions. Before he ascended it, he took Leave of the *Macedonians*, who stood by, desiring them to pass that Day in Mirth, and good Fellowship with their King, whom, in a little time, he said, he doubted not, but to see again at *Babylon*. Having thus spoke, he lay down, and covering himself, stirr'd not when the Fire came near him, but continued still in the same Posture, as at first, and so sacrificed himself, according to the ancient Custom of the Sages of his Country.

vers

vers sorts of Perfumes and Aromaticks upon the Pile; others to bring Vessels of Gold and Silver, and Royal Apparel. And because his Indisposition was such as hindred him from walking, a Horse was order'd him; but finding himself uncapable to mount on Horseback, he chose to be carried in a Litter, crown'd and adorn'd after the *Indian* Mariner, while he sung Hymns in his own Language, to the Gods of his Country. The Horse which he should have mount'd (being of the *Nesæan* Breed) he bestowed upon *Lysimachus*, who had been one of his Hearers, and was an Admirer of his Wisdom; but the Cups, and costly Furniture of all sorts, which the King had given to adorn the Pile, he order'd to be distributed among several then present: Afterwards, ascending the Pile, he lay down decently thereupon, in sight of the whole Army. The King, indeed, deem'd it improper for him to be there in Person, because he was his Friend; but to all who were there, it was an amazing Sight, to see the Body lie still in the midst of the Flames, without the least Motion. As soon as they, who were deputed for that purpose, had lighted the Pile, *Nearcbus* tells us, the Trumpets began to sound (for so the King had order'd) and the whole Army gave a Shout, as when they joyn Battle with an Enemy. The Elephants also made a dreadful and warlike Noise, to grace the Funeral of *Calanus*. These, and such like Things, grave Authors have asserted concerning this Sage; and this is an Example of no mean Import to those who study Mankind, to show how firm and unalterable the Mind of Man is, when Custom, or Education has taken full Possession thereof.





## C H A P. IV.

ALEXANDER, after this, dispatch'd *Atropates* away to his Government, and himself march'd to *Susa*, where *Abulites*, and his Son *Oxatbres* being accus'd of Male-Administration in the Affairs of that Province, were seized and put to Death. Many horrid Crimes were indeed committed by those who were deputed to govern the conquer'd Countries ; such as spoiling Temples, defacing Sepulchres, and putting innocent Men to Death ; for the King's Expedition against *India*, seem'd an Attempt which would take up much Time ; and it was not indeed probable he would ever return safe, where there were so many warlike Nations, stor'd with Elephants, to subdue, and so many vast Rivers to pass over. The Straits to which the Army was reduc'd among the *Gadrosi*, had also reach'd the Ears of the Governour of this Province ; and these Considerations put together, made him lay aside all Thoughts of ever being call'd to Account for his barbarous Rapine and Injustice. And indeed, the King was, now, much readier to give Credit to Accusations than formerly, and inflicted the severest Punishments

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* has not given us any Account of the exemplary Punishment inflicted on these two Persons ; but *Plutarch*, who has been very particular concerning it, tell us, pag. 41. that “ *Alexander* punished all those Governours who had not behav'd them-selves well, particularly *Oxatbres*, the Son of *Abulites*, whom he kill'd with his own Hand, by thrusting him through the Body with a Spear. And when *Abulites*, instead of the necessary Provisions which he ought to have furnished, brought him 3000 Talents in Money, ready coined, he order'd it to be thrown to his Horses, who not meddling with it, What good, says the King to him, does this Provision do me ? and sent him to Prison.” Where, it is very likely, he was put to Death, for we hear nothing of him afterwards.

and

nishments upon the slightest Offenders, because he imagin'd, they had greater, and more flagrant Mischiefs in their Heads. After this, he proceeded to the Celebration of his own, and his Friend's Nuptials at *Susa*; He himself took to Wife <sup>2</sup> *Barfine*, the eldest Daughter of *Darius*, and, besides her, another named *Parysatis*, the youngest Daughter of *Ochus*; for he had before that time married *Roxane*, the Daughter of *Oxyartes*, the *Bacrian*. *Drypetis*, another of *Darius*'s Daughters, he bestowed upon *Hephæstion*; for he was resolv'd that *Hephæstion*'s Children should be joyn'd in Affinity, with his own. *Amastreine*, the Daughter of *Oxyartes*, Brother to *Darius*, he gave to *Craterus*. The Daughter of *Atropates*, Gouvernour of *Media*, to *Perdiccas*. The Daughters of *Artabazus*, to *Ptolemy*, one of his Body-Guards, and *Eumenes*, his Secretary; to the first *Artacamas*, and to the last, *Artonis*. To *Nearchus*, he gave the Daughter of *Barfine* and *Mentor*, to *Seleucus*, the Daughter of *Spitamenes*, the *Bacrian*; and on the rest of his Friends, he bestowed the Daughters of the most illustrious *Medes* and *Persians*, in Marriage, to the Number of Eighty. Their Nuptials were solemniz'd after the *Persian* Manner, Seats being plac'd for those who were to be Married, according to their several Ranks, and a Royal Entertainment prepar'd. After this, the Brides were usher'd in, and plac'd by their Bridegrooms, who giving them their right Hands, receiv'd them with a Kiss. The King himself begun the Ceremony, and their Marriage Rites were all solemniz'd together. This Act of *Alexander* was a popular one, and serv'd to endear him to both Parties. He bestowed Dowries on all of them. The Names of the rest of the *Macedonians*,

<sup>2</sup> This *Barfine* is called *Statira*, by *Curtius*, *Justin* and *Plutarch*, tho' *Curtius* never mentions her as betroth'd by *Alexander*, but once, *lib. x. cap. 3. 12.* and then without a Name; neither have we one word of those solemn Espousals, which were celebrated at *Susa*, with so much royal Pomp and Magnificence.

who

who had married *Afstatick* Wives, he commanded to be recorded, for their whole Number amounted to above 3 Ten Thousand, on all whom, nevertheless, he bestowed Gifts, according to their several Ranks or Stations in the Army.]



## C H A P V.

**A**ND that he might omit nothing which could any ways contribute to render him popular, he took up a Resolution to enquire what Debts his whole Army had contracted, and discharged them all out of his own Coffers. But when he issued out an Order, that every one who owed any thing, should give in his Name, and the Sum; few were willing to comply therewith, fearing that he used this as an Artifice to find out which of them could not live within the Bounds of his own Stipend. However, when he came to understand that many neglected to obey his Commands, and that every one conceal'd his Reasons for so doing, as well as the Debts he had contracted, he only reprov'd their distrust of his Royal Bounty, by assuring them, that a King ought always to be sincere to his Subjects, and that they should not presume to bring the Veracity of his Intentions in question. Hereupon, Tables were placed regularly throughout the Camp, with Money upon them, and Officers deputed to distribute it, he ordering the full Debts of all to be paid to their Creditors, without so much as record-

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3 *Plutarch, pag. 42.* gives us an Account of 9000, but he seems not to mean those who then took *Afstatick* Wives, but the Guests who were present at the Solemnity. However, he tells us, that the King, as an instance of his Royal Bounty, bestowed on each, a Golden Cup, to use in their Libations of Wine, in Honour of the Gods.

ing the Debtors Names. They then plainly perceiv'd the Sincerity of his Intentions towards them, and he laid no less an Obligation upon them, by not enquiring their Names, than by discharging their Debts. This extraordinary Mufificece bestow'd on the Army, is said to have taken <sup>1</sup> twenty thousand Talents. He moreover bestow'd other Gifts on particular Persons, according to their Dignity, or the Rank they had acquir'd in the Army. To those who had done some gallant Action, he gave Crowns of Gold; the first of these was presented to <sup>2</sup> *Peucestas*, who sav'd his Life, among the *Malli*; the Second to *Leonnatus*, who had his share in that Act, and had encounter'd many Dangers among the *Indians*; had gain'd him a Victory over the *Oritæ*; and returning with his Forces into the Camp, quell'd an Insurrection there, and done many brave Actions besides; the Third was given to *Nearcbus* for conveying his Fleet safe from the *Indian*, to the *Persian* Coast, for he was then pre-

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* tells us, *lib. x. cap. 2. 11.* "That ten thousand Talents were laid upon the Tables to be distributed, out of which, the King received back one Hundred and Thirty, after all the Debts of the Army were discharged; so that only nine Thousand eight Hundred and Seventy were paid away." And in this he agrees with *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*. *Justin*, *lib. xii cap. 11*, reckons twenty Thousand expended on this Occasion. It is no difficult Matter to reconcile all these Authors in this Story; for *Arrian* assures us at the beginning of the twelfth Chapter of this Book, that the King, besides this Gratuity, bestowed a Talent a piece on ten Thousand old *Macedonian* Soldiers, whom he then sent home, to defray the Expences of their Journey. That ten Thousand added to the like Number given before, to pay their Debts, will make *Curtius*, *Diodorus*, and *Plutarch*, quadrate with *Justin* and *Arrian*. *Plutarch*, *pag. 42.* tells us a Story of one *Antigenes*, who had lost an Eye, and tho' he ow'd nothing, got his Name recorded among those who were in Debt. — I have not room for the remaining Part; however, the Story is not very probable, because it is generally agreed, that none of the Debtors gave in their Names.

<sup>2</sup> This Gratuity bestowed on those four chief Officers, neither *Curtius*, nor *Plutarch*, nor any other Author which I have seen, take the least notice of.

sent in *Susa*: The Fourth was bestowed on *Onescritus*, Governor of the Royal Galley; and others were then distributed to *Hephaestion*, and the rest of his Body-Guards.



## C H A P. VI.

**A**BOU'T this Time, the Governours of the new Cities, which he had built, and some of the Provinces which he had subdu'd, came to him, and brought with them i Thirty Thousand young Men, all of the same Age, all using the *Macedonian Arms*, and skill'd in their Military Discipline; and those he nominated his *Epigoni*, or Successors. However, his Old *Macedonian* Soldiers were much displeased at the arrival of these, imagining that the King contriv'd all possible Means to rid himself of his Country-men. They were also dissatisfied by seeing him appear in *Median* Robes; and the Solemnization of the Marriage Rites before-mention'd, after the *Perſian* Manner, not only disgusted many, but even some of those

<sup>i</sup> *Plutarch* affiſſes us, pag. 29. that "theſe Thirty thouſand Boys were choſen out of many of the conquer'd Provinces, when Alexander was yet in *Hyrcania*, before he march'd into *India*; that he allow'd them Masters to teach them the *Greek Tongue*, and to train them up to Arms in the *Macedonian Discipline*; and this he did, to bring the *Barbarians* as near the *Macedonian Customs* as poſſible. Theſe Boys, he affirms us, pag. 43. the King found ſo much improv'd at his return, both in Strength and Beauty, and they perform'd their Exercises ſo well, and with ſuch Agility, that he was wonderfully pleased with them."—I cannot forbear imagining theſe to be the ſame whom *Curtius* tells us, Alexander raised out of all the Provinces of the Empire, immediately before his March into *India*, and took them with him. However, he has mangled the Story ſo much, that did not the Numbers exaſtly agree, we ſhould hardly ſuſpect it to be the ſame. See *Curt.* lib. viii. cap. 5. 1.

who

who had been so Married, how much soever they thought themselves honour'd before, by the King's Presence, and Marriage among them. They murmur'd much at *Peucestas*, Gouvernor of *Persia*, because, in his Speech, as well as Habit, he wholly *Perfianiz'd*; and not a little, at *Alexander* himself, because he seem'd pleas'd with such Affectation of the *Barbarian* Language and Customs. They also took it heavily, that *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, *Arachori*, *Zarangi*, *Arians*, *Parthians*, and *Perians*, were every where encourag'd, and admitted into his Auxiliary Troops, if they were found to excel others, either in Birth, Beauty, or Valour; and were no less disturb'd, that a fifth Regiment of Horse was added, which, tho' it consisted not wholly of *Barbarians*, yet upon an Augmentation of the whole Body of Horse, many *Barbarians* were introduc'd, and that *Copbes*, the Son of *Artabazus*; *Hydarnes*, and *Artiboles*, the Sons of *Mazæus*; *Pbarasmenes*, and *Sifines*, Sons of *Pbrataphernes*, the Gouvernor of *Partbia*, and *Hyrcania*; *Itanes*, the Son of *Oxyartes*, and Brother to *Roxane*, *Alexander's* Wife; besides *Ægobares*, and his Brother *Mithrobæus*, were advanc'd into the *Macedonian* *Agema*; and that *Hydaspes*, a *Bactrian* was appointed their Captain; as also because *Macedonian* Spears were allow'd them, instead of the Darts, in use, among *Barbarians*. These were all so many Occasions of Discontent to his old Soldiers; who, from thence concluded, that he was about to degenerate into the Customs of *Barbarians*, and would, on that account, not only slight and despise those of his own Country, but his Country-men themselves.





## C H A P. VII.

**T**H E N he committed the best part of his Foot Forces to *Hephætion's* Care, to conduct them to the *Persian Gulph*; while he, going on board his Fleet, which lay ready at *Susa*, with his Targeteers, and *Agema*, and some part of his Auxiliary Horse, sail'd down the River *Eulæus*, to the Sea. And when he was now not far from the Mouth thereof, leaving there those Ships which were shatter'd, and out of Order; he, with the best of them, sail'd out to the Ocean, and then enter'd the Mouth of the River *Tigris*, the rest of the Fleet passing through a Canal, drawn from thence, to the *Tigris*; for of the two Rivers, *Tigris* and *Eupbrates*, which enclose *Affyria*, and give it the Name of *Mesopotamia*, the Channel of the *Tigris* lying much lower, receives the Water of the latter by many Trenches; and several Streams also falling into its own Bosom, it becomes a great River, before it glides into the *Persian Gulph*; insomuch, that it is every where impassable by a Ford; for it spreads not out in Breadth, so as to diminish its Depth, the Lands, on both sides being much higher than the Water; and it is not dispers'd through other Channels, nor convey'd into other Rivers, but takes them into it self. But the *Eupbrates* glides along a much higher Channel, and is, in many places, of equal height, with the Lands, on each side,

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<sup>1</sup> The whole Contents of this Chapter are not so much as hinted at by any other Author, and for want of a due Consideration thereof, *Freinbemius* has committed an Over-fight in his Supplement to a Chasm in *Curtius*; for he makes this Sedition of the Soldiers to happen before their departure from *Susa*; and yet in their March towards *Eebatana*, he causes them to pass the *Tigris*, and come to *Susa* again.

so that several Streams are cut from it; some constant one's which supply the Inhabitants with Water; others only occasional, when the neighbouring Countries happen to be parch'd up with Drought (for Rains seldom fall in these Parts;) whence it happens that the *Euphrates*, at its entrance into the Ocean, is but a small River, and easily fordable. *Alexander* sailed first down the River *Eulaeus*, to the Sea, and thence along the *Persian Gulph*, and up the *Tigris*, to his Camp, where *Hephæstion*, with the Forces under his Command, waited his arrival. Thence steering his Course to *Opis*, a City on that River, he commanded all the Wears, and other Impediments which he met with, to be pull'd up, and the Channel to be clear'd. These Wears were put down by the *Persians*, who were unskil'd in Maritime Affairs, to render the Navigation of that River so difficult, as to hinder any Enemies Fleet from invading them that Way. However, *Alexander* look'd upon them as the Contrivance of Cowards, and, as they were little Hindrance to him, knowing they would be of no Use, he order'd them to be entirely clear'd away, and the River laid open.



## C H A P. VIII.

WHEN he arriv'd at *Opis*, he call'd his Forces together, and issued out a Declaration, that " all of them, who by Age, Infirmitiy, or Loss of Limbs, found themselves unable to undergo the Fatigues of War, should be freely discharged, and at full Liberty to return Home. <sup>1</sup> But whoever were

<sup>1</sup> We have this Story otherwise told by *Curtius*, lib. x. cap. 2. 16. for he says, " *Alexander* assur'd his Soldiers, that he wuld short-

“ were inclin'd to stay with him, should taste so largely of his Royal Bounty, as to become the Envy of those who tarried at Home, and excite other *Macedonians* freely to share their Toils and Dangers with them.” This Declaration was made by *Alexander*, with a design to please the *Macedonians*, but it had a contrary Effect; for they interpreting it, as if they were despised, or deem'd useless in any further warlike Enterprize, were vehemently enrag'd, and took that Discourse as levelled against them, which was design'd for the Army in general. Howbeit, upon this Occasion, all their former Complaints were renew'd, namely, his Complaisance with the *Persians* in their Habit; his allowing the *Macedonian* Habit to be worn by Youths, who were *Barbarians*, and stiling them, their Successors; and his admission of strange Horse into the Auxiliary Forces; wherefore they were no longer able to contain themselves, but all of them intreated to be absolv'd from their Military Oath. Nay, some proceeded so far as to insult him, by telling him, that He, and his Father <sup>2</sup> *Hammon* might, for the future, join the ir Forces, and wage War against their Enemies.

*Alexander*

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“ ly visit his Native Country, and carry them home.”—This Assertion of his, is not only contradicted by *Arrian*, but by *Athenaeus*, lib. xii. cap. 9. for he seem'd much more inclin'd to fix the Imperial Seat somewhere in *Asia*, either in *Arabia*, according to *Eustathius* in his Comment upon *Dionysius*, vers. 995, from the Conclusion of *Strabo*'s Sixteenth Book; or rather, as the same *Strabo* assures us in his Fifteenth, at *Babylon*,

<sup>2</sup> The whole Camp, says *Curtius*, lib. x. cap. 2. 12. 13. “ was filled with seditious Speeches, and the Soldiers boldly came into the King's Presence, and demanded Leave for all to return Home; protesting, at the same time, that they would not stir one Foot from that Place, but towards their Native Country.”—

*Plutarch*, pag. 43. gives us a far more particular Account thereof, for he says, that “ the *Macedonian* Soldiers, who were Old and Infirm, finding they were to be sent away, cry'd out, that they were unjustly and infamously dealt with, to be turn'd away thus

“ in

Alexander no sooner heard these Words (for he was now much more subject to Wrath than heretofore) but leaping instantly from his Seat where his Captains surrounded him, he commanded the Chief of those, who endeavour'd to excite the Multitude to Sedition, to be seiz'd, and pointed with his Hand to his Targetteers, to shew them whom they should seize. These were 3 Thirteen in Number, all whom he commanded immediately to be put to Death: Whereat, while the rest stood amaz'd, and kept silence, he again mounted his Tribunal, and spoke to this effect.

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“ in Disgrace, after they had been worn out in his Service, and  
 “ sent Home in a worse Condition than they were when they went  
 “ abroad: Wherefore they desir'd him, one and all, to dismiss  
 “ them, and account his *Macedonians* useleſs, now he was so well  
 “ furnished with dancing Boys, with whom, if he pleas'd, he  
 “ might conquer the World.” *Justin* has given us this almost in  
 the very Words of *Arrian*, *lib. xii. cap. 11.*

3 “ *Curtius*, tells us, he made a very long Speech first.” — If Alexander did not, he has done it for him, — “ which having  
 “ finished, he instantly leap'd from his Throne, and threw him-  
 “ self into the midst of the arm'd and enrag'd Multitude, and,  
 “ with his own Hand, seiz'd on some whom he had observ'd no-  
 “ toriously impudent, and forward in the Sedition, thirteen of  
 “ whom, not daring to resist, he committed to close Custody, *lib. x.*  
*cap. 2. 30.*” — Two or three Days after this (as may be gathered  
 from the Circumstances of the Story) he order'd them to be  
 thrown into the River bound, where they perish'd miserably, *lib. x.*  
*cap. 4. 2, 3.*” — Now will I appeal to the common Reason of  
 Mankind; First, whether it be natural for a Prince to sit haranguing  
 upon his Throne, for an Hour together, while his Subjects are  
 bawling Sedition all round him, and pelting him with treasonable  
 Speeches on both fides of his Head: And, Secondly, When he had  
 seiz'd the most notorious and forward, whether it is at all probable,  
 that he would keep them two or three Days, and then put them to  
 Death in cold Blood.





## C H A P. IX.

" **F**AR be it from me, O my *Macedonians*,  
 " to endeavour to divert you from your De-  
 " firs of returning Home, (you having a free li-  
 " berty to go whenever you think convenient)  
 " but I will, that you understand before your  
 " departure, how much you are chang'd from what  
 " once you were. And first to begin, as I ought,  
 " with my Father *Philip*: He receiv'd you into his  
 " Protection, a poor, wandering, and unsettled Peo-  
 " ple; many of you cloathed with Skins, and feed-  
 " ing small Flocks of Sheep, upon the Mountains,  
 " which yet you could not keep without continual  
 " Skirmishes with the *Illyrians*, *Triballi*, and *Tbra-*  
 " *cians*, your Neighbours, in which you were often  
 " unsuccesful. For Shepherds Coats of Skins, my Fa-  
 " ther array'd you in the choicest Garments; from  
 " the barren Mountains, he led you down into the  
 " fruitful Plains, and instructed you in Military Dis-  
 " cipline, so that you had no more occasion to place  
 " your Safety in rough and inacceſſable Mountains,  
 " but in your own Valour. He gave you Cities to  
 " dwell in, and excellent Laws and Statutes to be  
 " governed by. He gain'd you also the Sov-  
 " reignty over those *Barbarians*, who, afore-time,  
 " continually harrassed and insulted you, and from a  
 " State of Slavery, made you free. He added a  
 " great part of *Thrace* to *Macedonia*, and by redu-  
 " cing the Towns upon the Sea-Coast, set open the

" *Curtius* and *Arrian* have each put a Speech into *Alexander's*  
 Mouth on this Occasion: As the Genius of the two Authors were  
 vastly different, so are the Speeches, but I shall leave the Compa-  
 gion between them to my Readers.

“ Gate to Commerce. He it was that subdu’d the  
“ *Theſſalians*, who were formerly ſo terrible to you,  
“ and made them your Servants; and having over-  
“ come the *Pbocæans*, open’d a wide and convenient  
“ Entrance for you into *Greece*, instead of one nar-  
“ row and difficult. The *Athenians* and *Thebans*,  
“ who had joyn’d in Confederacy againſt you, he ſo  
“ humbled (my ſelf being preſent to affiſt him) that  
“ whereas we were, before that time, Tributaries to  
“ the former, and Slaves to the latter, on the con-  
“ trary, now, both theſe Cities are under our Pro-  
“ tection. He enter’d *Peloponnesus*, and composing  
“ Matters there, was conſtituted General of all the  
“ *Grecian* Forces, in the intended Expedition againſt  
“ the *Persians*, and thereby acquir’d, not only Glory  
“ to himſelf, but also to the *Macedonian* Name and  
“ Nation. Thoſe were my Father’s Bounties to you:   
“ Great ones indeed, if conſider’d by themſelves,  
“ but ſmall if compared with mine. For when I  
“ ſucceeded to my Father’s Kingdom, I found ſome  
“ Golden and Silver Cups indeed, but ſcarce Sixty  
“ Talents in his Treasury, tho’ I was charged with  
“ a Debt of his, of five Hundred. However, not  
“ diſcouraged by this, I contracted a fresh Debt of  
“ eight hundred Talents. I march’d out of *Ma-*  
“ *cedonia*, which was ſcarce able to ſustain you, and  
“ led you ſafe over the *Helleſpont*, tho’ the *Persians*  
“ then held the Sovereignty of the Sea. Then having  
“ beaten *Darius*’ Generals in Battle, I thereby ad-  
“ ded *Ionia*, *Æolia*, both *Pbrygia*’s and *Lydia*, to the  
“ *Macedonian* Empire. I afterwards took *Miletus*  
“ by Assault, and receiv’d the voluntary Homage  
“ of many other People and Nations, who submit-  
“ ted themſelves, and conſented to become Tribu-  
“ taries. The Treasures of *Ægypt* and *Cyrene*, which  
“ we obtain’d without Blows, help’d to fill your  
“ Coffers; *Cæle-Syria*, *Palæſtina*, and *Mesopotamia*,  
“ are in your Possession. *Babylon*, *Baſtria*, and  
“ *Suſa*, are in your Power. The Wealth of *Lydia*,  
“ the

“ the Treasures of *Perſia*, the Riches of *India*, and  
 “ the Ocean, is yours. You are conſtituted De-  
 “ puties of Provinces. You are made Captains,  
 “ Princes, and Generals of Armies. What, I be-  
 “ feech you, have I reserv'd to my ſelf, for all the  
 “ Toils I have undergone; except this Purple Robe  
 “ and Diadem? I have with-held nothing from you;  
 “ neither can any Mortal ſhew a Treasure in my  
 “ Custody, beſides what is either yours, or preferv'd  
 “ for your Uſe. I have no private Deſires to gratify;  
 “ that I ſhould hoard up Wealth on that account,  
 “ for I obſerve the ſame Diet with your ſelves, and  
 “ am ſatisfied with the ſame Portion of Reſt. Nay,  
 “ I have been contented with coarſer Food than ma-  
 “ ny among you, who live deliciously; and I have  
 “ often watch'd for you, that you might ſleep in Eafe  
 “ and Safety.



## C H A P. X.

“ **S**OME may, perhaps, inſinuate, that all these  
 “ were acquired by your own Toils and Dan-  
 “ gers, in which I, your General, bore no Part;  
 “ but who dares affirm, that he has run greater  
 “ Hazards for me, than I have for him? See, which  
 “ of you has receiv'd Wounds, let him open his  
 “ Bosom and ſhew the Scars, and I will ſhew mine,  
 “ for there is none of the forepart of my Body  
 “ free; nor is there any kind of Weapon which is ei-  
 “ ther thrust forward by Hand, or darted, the Marks  
 “ whereof are not plainly to be traced upon this  
 “ Breast of mine; for I have been wounded with  
 “ Swords in close Fight, and with Darts and Ar-  
 “ rows at a diſtance; beſides, I have been beat  
 “ to the Ground by Stones from the Enemies En-  
 “ gines; and notwithstanding I have ſuffer'd ſo much  
 “ for

“ for your sakes, by Stones, and Clubs, and Swords,  
“ and missive Weapons, yet have I led you Victo-  
“ rious through all Lands, over all Seas, Rivers,  
“ Hills, and plain Countries. I solemniz'd your  
“ Nuptials with my own, that your Children might  
“ claim Affinity with mine. The Debts of my whole  
“ Army I freely discharg'd, without examining too  
“ strictly how they were contracted ; and notwith-  
“ standing the vast Stipends you then receiv'd, you  
“ made no small Advantage of the Plunder of such  
“ Cities, as you took by Storm. Add to this, that  
“ I bestow'd Crowns of Gold on many of you, as  
“ eternal Monuments of your Valour, and my E-  
“ steem for you ; and whoever chanc'd to fall in  
“ Battle, valiantly Fighting, he, over and above the  
“ Glory which he then acquir'd by Death, was usual-  
“ ly honour'd with a sumptuous Monument. Nay,  
“ brazen Statues are erected, as Testimonies of the  
“ Valour of some of them in *Macedonia*, and Ho-  
“ nours decreed their Parents, with a full Immunity  
“ from all publick Taxes, and Impositions ; for none  
“ of you, fighting under my Banner, had ever any  
“ occasion to turn his Back upon an Enemy. And  
“ now I had determin'd to release such of you, who  
“ are unable any longer to endure the Fatigues of  
“ War, and send you Home, so loaden with Ho-  
“ nours, and Rewards, that your Country-men and  
“ Fellow-Citizens, should deem you, above mea-  
“ sure, Fortunate and Happy. But since ye are all  
“ of one Mind, and since the same Notion of re-  
“ turning has possess'd all of you, go all, and re-  
“ port at Home, that your King *Alexander*, who had  
“ subdu'd the *Perians*, *Medes*, *Bactrians*, and *Sacæ* ;  
“ who had tam'd the *Uxii*, *Aracoti* and *Drangæ* ; who  
“ had reduc'd the *Parthians*, *Cborasmians*, and *Hyr-*  
“ *canians*, and penetrated as far as the *Caspian Sea* ;  
“ who had forc'd his Way over Mount *Caucasus*,  
“ and through the *Caspian Streights* ; who had pas-  
“ sed the Rivers *Oxus*, and *Tanais*, and *Indus* (which  
“ last

“ last was never pass'd before, unless by *Bacchus*)  
 “ who had ferry'd over the Rivers *Hydaspes*, *Acesines*,  
 “ and *Hydراotes*; and had also led you beyond the  
 “ *Hypbasis*; if you had not refused to follow him;  
 “ who enter'd the Ocean by both the Mouths of  
 “ the River *Indus*, and afterwards, marching through  
 “ the barren and sandy Country of the *Gadrosi*  
 “ (where none ever carry'd an Army safe before)  
 “ subdu'd the *Carmanians* and *Oritae*; who lastly;  
 “ having convey'd his Fleet from the Coasts of *India*,  
 “ to the *Persian* Sea, brought you safe and victo-  
 “ rious to *Susa*. Tell your Country-men, I say,  
 “ that after all these great and glorious Acts, done  
 “ for you, you have forsaken him, departed from  
 “ him, and left him in the Hands, and under the  
 “ Care of the *Barbarians*, whom he had conquer'd.  
 “ When you shall have told all these Things, your  
 “ Glory among Men, and the Notion of your Piety  
 “ towards the Gods, will receive a mighty Im-  
 “ provement.”

## C H A P. XI.

**H**A VING thus spoke, he leap'd suddenly from his Seat, and retiring into the Palace, neither put on his Royal Robes, nor admitted any of his Friends to see him that Day, nor the next; and on the Third, having call'd the *Persian* Nobility round him,

From this Place, there is a vast Chasm in *Curtius*, even to *Alexander's* Death, which has been filled up by an unknown, and unskilful Hand. However, *Freinsheimius*, who has taken so much Pains with all the rest of the Work, has also given us a Supplement here. *Curtius* furnished us with three Speeches, on account of the late Mutiny among the Soldiery; one from *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*; the second from him to the *Persians*, wherein, among other

him, he distributed the Command of the several Troops among them, and as many of them as he had made his Relations, he suffered to kiss him. But the *Macedonians*, mov'd with their King's Speech, stood before the Tribunal, like People astonish'd, and kept a profound Silence; nor did one of their Number offer to accompany the King when he retir'd to his Palace, except his Friends and Body-Guards, who surrounded him. However, many stood still before the Tribunal, and refused to depart, tho' they neither knew what they should do, nor say, there. But when they came to understand what he had bestowed upon the *Medes* and *Perians*; namely, the several Commands of the Army; and that the *Barbarians* were distributed into several Ranks and Orders; that the *Perian Agema* was to be called by a *Macedonian* Name; and the Troops of Auxiliary Foot, and others, to be made up of *Perians*; that the Targe-teers, and all the Royal Cohort of Horse, were to consist of *Perians*; and that the Regiment of *Perians* was to be nominated the Royal Regiment; they were no longer able to contain themselves, but running straight, in a Body, to the Palace, lay down their Arms before the Gate, as a sign of Submission and Repentance: Then standing without, they beg'd to be admitted into the King's Presence, promising that they would deliver up the Authors of the late Tumult, and those who had stirr'd them to Sedition; and withal protesting, that they would never stir from his Gate, Day nor Night, unless they could move him to take Compassion upon them. When

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other things, he tells them, *lib. x. cap. 3. 11.* "That he had married the Daughter of *Oxartes* the *Perian*." — That *Oxartes*, or *Oxartbus*, or *Oxyartes*, was a *Baetrian*, *Arrian* has told us twenty times over; besides *Curtius* forgets himself strangely, for no further off than *lib. 8. cap. 2. 10.* he assures us, he was of the same Nation with *Syfmitbres*, whom all allow to be a *Baetrian*, or a *Sogdian*. His third Speech is from one of the *Macedonians*, who had been condemn'd to die, on account of the late Tumult.—

Alexander

*Alexander* came to understand this, he immediately came forth to them, and perceiving them humble and dejected, was so much mov'd with their Sorrow and Lamentation, that he wept, and stood some time, as tho' he would have spoke, but they remain'd in the same suppliant Posture. However, at last, *Callines*, belonging to the Auxiliary Troop of Horse, a Man of much Esteem, as well for his Age, as the Command he bore, spoke to this effect: "Thy *Macedonians*, O King, are griev'd and discontented, because thou hast made some of the *Perians*, thy Relations, honour'd them with the Title of thy Kindred, and fufferest them to kiss thee, when, at the same time, they are excluded." Then *Alexander* interrupting him, reply'd, "I now make you all my Kindred, and shall, henceforth, stile you so." With that *Callines* step'd forward and kiss'd him, and such others, as pleased, follow'd his Example. Wereupon they again took up their Arms, and, with Shouts of Joy, and Songs, return'd to the Camp. After this, he sacrificed to the Gods, according to the Custom of his Country, and prepar'd a Royal Banquet, which he grac'd with his Presence, where the *Macedonians* were plac'd neareft his Person; next these the *Perians*, and then those of all other Nations, according to their Dignity, or the Post they held in the Army. Then the King, and all his Guests, drank out of the same Cup; the *Grecian Augurs*, as well as the *Perian Magi*, pronouncing their Decrees, wishing Prosperity to the King, and the Army, and praying for eternal Concord and Unanimity between the *Macedonians* and *Perians*, for the common Benefit of both Nations. Nine Thousand Guests are said to have been present at this Entertainment, who all drank out of the same Cup, and all joyn'd in the same Songs, for the Peace and Safety of the Army.

C H A P. XII.

THIR such of the *Macedonians*, as were unable to follow the Army, by reason of Age, or Loss of Limbs, were freely discharg'd, to the Number of about ten Thousand, who were not only paid their full Stipends, according to the Time they had serv'd, but each had a Talent given him, over and above what was his due, to defray the Expences of his Journey. Those, among them, who had married *Asia-tick* Wives, and had Children by them, were order'd to leave their Sons behind, lest they should be the cause of a Sedition, in *Macedonia*, if both the Sons, and their Mothers, were sent together. However, he took care to instruct them in the *Macedonian* Manners, and to teach them their Military Discipline, that so, when they arriv'd at Manhood, he might bring them Home, and deliver them, thus accomplish'd, to their Parents. These uncertain, and precarious Things, he promis'd them at their Departure; but he added one sure and undoubted Mark of his good Will towards them, by appointing *Craterus* (whom he found ever faithful to him, and whom he lov'd as his Life) to be their Captain, to conduct them safe into their own Country: Wherefore, wishing them all Health and Happiness, and weeping to behold them weep, he dismiss'd them, ordering *Craterus*, when he had finish'd his Task of conducting them safe

1 *Justin* acquaints us, *lib. xii. cap. 12.* "That among his chief Officers, who were then dismiss'd, were *Polypercon*, *Clitus*, *surnam'd the White*, as also *Gorgias Polydamas*, *Amadas*, and *Antigenes*, with eleven Thousand of his Veteran Soldiers.—However, this *Amadas* is suppos'd to be only an Error of Transcribers, for no such Name is to be found elsewhere.

Home, to take upon him the Government of *Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly*, and preside over the Liberties, of *Greece*. He moreover order'd *Antipater* to come to him, and bring with him other *Macedonians*, young, and vigorous, instead of those who were dismis'd. He dispatch'd *Polyperchon* away with *Craterus*, and gave him the next Command under him, for fear any Accident should happen to *Craterus* by the Way (he being somewhat indispos'd at his setting forward) and they should be destitute of a Leader. There was then a Report, secretly whisper'd about by those, who the more they seemed to endeavour to conceal the King's Affairs, the more they desired to divulge them, and wickedly perverted whatever carried a Face of Truth, to ill Purposes) I say, there was a Report, that *Alexander*, overcome with the Calumnies wherewith his Mother had loaded *Antipater*, was willing to remove him from *Macedonia*. But perhaps this Call of *Antipater* was not design'd for his Disgrace ; but rather to prevent any Mischief arising from their Quarrels, which he might not be able to compose. Many Letters had been carried to the King, wherein *Antipater* accused *Olympias* of Arrogancy, Cruelty, and meddling with what did not become the Mother of *Alexander* ; insomuch, that the King is said to have complain'd, that he was forced to pay her very dear for the ten Months she carried him in her Womb. *Olympias*, on the other hand, exclaim'd against *Antipater*, as Insolent, by reason of the Command he bore, and the People's Obedience to him ; that he begun to be altogether unmindful from whence he received his Authority, and judged himself fit for the Sovereignty over *Macedonia*, and all *Greece*, where he ought only to act as Deputy. Thus was the King continually wearied out with these Complaints, insomuch, that at last he begun to incline to the Opinion of those who were for disgracing *Antipater*, as one who was more to be fear'd than the other, if the Reports were just.

However

However he, neither by Word nor Action, gave the least intimation, that his Affections were any ways estranged from *Antipater*\*\*\*\*\*

## C H A P.

\*\*\*\*\*This is the only Chasm throughout *Arrian's* whole Work. *Gronovius* tel's us, he was in hopes to have fill'd it up, out of an excellent Manuscript, which he had from the Duke of *Tuscany's* Library, but was disappointed. He is of Opinion, that it has been a Leaf torn out of all the Manuscript Copies, then in being, because some Paragraph there, might give Offence to the Primitive Christians; but I can see no Reason, which could induce *Arrian* to mix Reflections upon Christianity, with a History of *Alexander*. As for my part, I own I am not able to give any satisfactory Reason, why there is a Chasm, but I will do as much as lies in my Power to satisfy the Deficiency.— From *Opis*, upon the River *Tigris*, where the Sedition happen'd, *Alexander* marched with his Army to *Charras*, see *Diodorus*, lib. xviii. pag. 576, where he encamp'd; then having pass'd through *Sittacene*, in four Days, he came to *Sambana*, where he rested seven. Then, in three Days, he arriv'd at *Celanae*, which Place *Xerxes* had peopled with a Colony of *Bæotians*, who still retain some remains of their native Language. Thence, he proceeded to *Bagisthemes*, a Country fruitful, and abounding in all things pleasant and profitable for Life. About this time happened a grievous Quarrel, between *Hephæstion* and *Eumenes*, as *Plutarch* acquaints us, *in vita Eumenis*, for *Eumenes*'s Servants having taken Possession of an Inn, for their Master's Use, *Hephæstion* turn'd them out, to make room for *Evius* a Musician; whereat *Eumenes* enrag'd, went with *Mentor* to *Alexander*, and upbraided him aloud, telling him, that the only way to be regarded, was to throw away their Arms, and turn Fidlers, or Tragedians. *Alexander*, at first, took their part, and chid *Hephæstion*, but, soon after, chang'd his Mind, and was angry with *Eumenes*, accounting the Freedom he had taken, rather as an Affront to himself, than a Reflection on *Hephæstion*. Some time after this, another Dispute happen'd between them, concerning some Present from *Alexander*, and a great deal of ill Language pass'd between them; but the King, who was then present, laying his Commands on them, they were reconciled, at least, outwardly, and *Eumenes* continu'd in Favour 'till *Hephæstion's* Death. As soon as *Alexander* had undertaken his Expedition into *India*, *Harpalus*, who was made Treasurer in *Babylon* (hoping he would never return) gave himself up to all manner of Luxury and Excess. He made a Practice of ravishing Women, and committing all sorts of Uncleanness with the *Barbarians*, whereby he wasted the Royal Treasures. He ordered vast quantities of Fish to be brought him, as far off as the *Red-Sea*, and was so prodigal in the Expences of

## C H A P. XIII.

**H**E P HÆS T I O N dreading this Discourse, was, much against his own Will, reconciled to *Eumenes*. In this March, *Alexander* is said to have viewed the Field wherein the King's Horses used to graze, which *Herodotus* calls *Nisæum*, and the Horses *Nisæans*; he also adds, that in former Times, one hundred and fifty Thousand were wont to feed there; but the King, at his coming there, found not above fifty Thousand, for most of the rest had been stolen away. Here *Atropates*, Governor of *Media*, presented him with a hundred Women, said to be *Ama-*

his Household, that all declared it was shameful, and none gave him a good Character. He sent for a *Courtezan* from *Athens*, named *Pythonices*, whom he maintained like a Princess, while she liv'd; and for whom, after her Death, he erected a most magnificent Monument at *Athens*. He then sent for another out of *Attica*, called *Glyceria*, with whom he lived voluptuously, and profusely. But, that he might secure to himself a Place of Refuge if any ill Fortune should happen, he made it his chief Busines to oblige the *Athenians*. And therefore, when *Alexander* returned from his *Indian* Expedition, and had put many of the Governors of Provinces to Death, for Male-Administration, *Harpalus* fearing the same Punishment, took five Thousand Talents of Silver, and raised fix Thousand mercenary Soldiers, and leaving *Asia*, set sail for *Attica*. But perceiving none forward to come in to him, he left his Soldiers at *Tenarus*, in *Laconia*, and taking part of the Treasure with him, fled to *Athens* for Protection: But *Antipater* and *Olympias*, sending Letters, which demanded that he should be deliver'd up, he withdrew from thence, and fled to his Soldiers at *Tenarus*: Thence he sailed to *Crete*, where he was murdered by *Thymbron*, whom he looked upon as his Friend. — Thus have I gathered what I could from *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, to fill up this Chasm; but the Cause of the Army's sudden March to *Ecbatana*, and *Alexander's* Speech to *Hephaestion*, on account of his Quarrel with *Eumenes*, must remain unknown, 'till some perfect Copy of *Arrian* happily discloses them to the World.

rons, attir'd like Horsemen, only they bore Axes instead of Spears, and Demi-lunar Targets, instead of Shields. Some add, that their right Breasts were less than their Left, and that they were exposed to View in Battle. *Alexander* separated them from his Army, that they might not be liable to any Insult, either from the *Macedonians*, or *Barbarians*, but order'd, that the Queen should be told, that he would embrace her for the sake of having Children by her. But as neither *Ptolemy* nor *Aristobulus*, nor any other credible Author, relates this Story, I shall not endeavour to impose it upon my Reader for Truth,

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius*, has given us a long Story of those *Amazonian* Viragoes, with their Queen *Thalestris* at their Head; and has been as Circumstantial, as if he had been Emafculated in his Infancy, to qualify him for the Post of one of her Majesty's Trainbearers. However, *Strabo*, lib. xi. pag. 771. assures us, it is a Fable; for he says, "No Author of Credit mentions any such People, and even those who do, disagree prodigiously among themselves. For who, says he, can be so stupid as to imagine, that either an Army, or Nation, or even a City, could confit wholly of Women; and not only so, but that they should invade the Territories of others, bring all the neighbouring Countries under Subjection, over-run *Ionia*, and pass over the Sea into *Atica*. This is to invert the Order of Nature, and to affirm, that Women, at that time, were Men, and Men Women." *Plutarch*, pag. 29. has given us a List of the Writers on each side of the Question, and tells us, that "Alexander himself seems to confirm the Opinion of those who reckon it a Fiction; for in his Letters, wherein he gives an account of all Passages, he says, the King of *Scythia* offered him his Daughter in Marriage, but takes no notice at all of this *Amazon*." But the same Author comes with a closing Argument at last, which knocks the whole Story of her *Amazonian* Majesty on the head; for he adds, that "Many Years after, when *Oneiscritus* read this Story (in his fourth Book) to *Lysimachus*, who then reign'd, the King fell a laughing at it, and asked how such a thing could happen, and he know nothing of it, tho' he was present." — As to *Arrian*, he neither concludes on one side, nor the other, but leaves the Case disputable. However, he tells us plainly, if ever there was such a People upon Earth, as a Nation of *Amazons*, those who now came with *Atropates*, were none of them, nor any thing more than Women dress'd in the same manner, as the others are described by Authors. See more of these *Amazons* in the Criticism prefix'd to this Work.

and the less, because I am of Opinion, that the Race of *Amazons* was extinct long before that Time; for *Xenophon*, who flourished some Ages before, and mentions the *Colchi*, and the *Phasii*, and other *Barbarians*, through whose Countries the *Greeks* marched to or from *Trapezun* (and where they must have fallen inamongst these *Amazons*, if any of their Race had then existed) makes no mention of them. However, I am of Opinion, there must have been such a People, because they are celebrated by so many, and such famous Authors; for *Hercules* is said to have been sent against them, and to have brought the Girdle of their Queen *Hippolyte*, into *Greece*. The *Athenians* also, under the Command of *Theseus*, repulsed these *Viragoes*, when they attempted to invade *Europe*; and this Battle of theirs against those *Amazons*, is delineated by *Cimon the Athenian*, with the same Art and Accuracy, as those with the *Persians*. *Herodotus* frequently takes notice of those Women; and indeed, all the Writers of the *Athenian History*, have, in especial manner, celebrated that Battle with the *Amazons*. However if *Atropates* brought any Equestrian *Viragoes* to *Alexander*, they must certainly have sprung from some other Race of *Barbarian Women*, who rode on Horseback, and were Arm'd and Habited in the same Manner as the ancient *Amazons*.





## C H A P. XIV.

WHEN Alexander arriv'd at *Ecbatana*, he offered Sacrifice to the Gods for good Success, according to his Custom ; he also exhibited *Gymnick* and *Musical* Sports, and made a royal Entertainment for his Friends. About this Time *Hephæstion* was taken violently ill, and it was on the seventh Day of his Sicknes, when the <sup>1</sup> Boys exercised themselves at Wrestling. But when the King receiv'd News of his declining State, he left off his Sports, and hasted towards him with all speed ; but before he could reach the Place, he was dead. Sundry <sup>2</sup> Authors have given an Account of *Alexander's* Grief, upon this Occasion, very different from each other ; but in this they all agree, that he was feiz'd with immoderate Sor-

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<sup>1</sup> *Plutarch* assures us, pag. 43. " That when the King had dif-  
" patch'd his most urgent Affairs at *Ecbatana*, he begun to divert him-  
" self with Shews and publick Exercises, to carry on which, he had  
" a Supply of 3000 Actors newly arrived out of *Greece* ; but they  
" were soon interrupted by *Hephæstion's* falling sick of a Fever."   
(*Diodorus* says, " it was occasion'd by a Surfeit," which is not unlike-  
ly) " and being a young Man, and a Soldier, he would not confine  
" himself to so exact a Diet, as was necessary ; for while his Phy-  
" sician *Glaucias* was gone to the Theatre, he eat a boyl'd Capon,  
" for his Dinner, and drunk a large draught of Wine, upon which  
" he grew worse, and died in a few Days.

<sup>2</sup> *Alexander*, according to *Plutarch*, p. 43, was so beyond all Reason, transported with Grief, at this Misfortune, that to express his Sorrow, he presently ordered the Manes and Tails of all his Horses, and Mules, to be cut, and threw down the Battlements of the Neighbouring Cities. (*Aelian* informs us, " That he cast  
" the Walls of the Castle of *Ecbatana*, to the Ground.) The poor  
" Physician he Crucified ; and forbud playing on the Flute, or any  
" other Musical Instrument, in the Camp, for a great while, till the  
" Oracle of *Hammon* enjoy'd him to honour *Hephæstion*, and sa-  
" crifice to him, as a Hero.

row; but after what manner he testified it to the World, is a Matter of great Dispute among them: Some giving their Opinion one Way, some another; according as they are inclin'd by Passion or Prejudice, either for *Alexander*, or *Hephaestion*. They who have wrote the most indecent Accounts, seem to have imagined, that whatever the King said or did, to show his excessive Concern, for the Death of one, whom he so dearly lov'd, ought to redound to his Praise. Others are rather inclin'd to condemn such immoderate Grief, as unbecoming any Monarch, and much more *Alexander*. Some tell us, that he lay almost a whole Day, lamenting over the dead Body of his Friend, and refused to depart from him, 'till he was forced away, by his Friends. Others lengthen out the Time of his lamenting over him, to a whole Day and Night. Others again affirm, that he ordered *Glaucias*, his Physician, to be Crucified, because of a Potion which he had indiscreetly administred to him; while others tell us, that when *Glaucias* saw that *Hephaestion* would not refrain from drinking an unreasonable quantity of Wine, he refused to take any further Care of him. That *Alexander* should lay prostrate upon the dead Body of so dear a Friend, and tear his Hair, and shew other signs of Grief, I neither deem improbable, nor indecent, they being done after the Example of *Abilles*, whom he imitated from his Youth. Some Authors tell us, that he caused the Body of *Hephaestion* to be put into a Chariot, and that he would be Charioteer himself; but this is no ways credible. Others say, he caused the Temple of *Aesculapius*, in *Ecbatana*, to be demolish'd; but that was a barbarous Action, not at all suited to the Character of *Alexander*, and, indeed, much rather resembling that of *Xerxes*, a known despiser, and reviler of the Gods, who is reported to have thrown Fetters, out of Revenge, into the *Hellefpon*. However, what is related by some Authors, seems not improbable, namely, that

that when *Alexander* was upon his March towards *Babylon*, many Embassadors from the *Græcian* States, met him, among whom were some from *Epidaurus*, whose Requests, when he had granted, he sent an Offering to be hung up in the Temple of *Æsculapius*, notwithstanding, as he said, that God had not shew'd himself at all favourable, in not saving the Life of a Friend, whom he lov'd as his own Spirit. Many assure us, that he order'd Sacrifices to be offer'd to him, as to a Hero: And some add, that he sent to *Hammon's* Temple, to consult the Oracle there, whether he should not sacrifice to him as a God, but *Jupiter* deny'd that Liberty. However, all Authors agree, that the King neither tasted Food, nor chang'd his Apparel, for three whole Days after *Hephæstion's* Death; but lay all that while either lamenting, or silently endeavouring to conceal his Grief, and that he commanded sumptuous Obsequies to be perform'd at *Babylon*, at the Expence of <sup>3</sup> ten Thousand Talents, some say much more; and order'd a strict and publick Mourning to be observ'd throughout all the *Barbarian* Countries. Many of *Alexander's* Friends, that they might divert that Excess of Grief, whereinto he was then fallen, are said

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<sup>3</sup> *Justin* says 12000, *lib. xii cap. 12.* and in that, agrees with *Diodorus*. However *Plutarch*, who gives us the best Account thereof, says, that " *Alexander* employ'd *Stasicles*, rather than any other, to build and adorn this Monument, because his Designs were Bold and Magnificent: and that he intended to bestow 10000 Talents upon it, that the Excellency of the Workmanship, might, if possible, go beyond the Expence. — This *Stasicles* was he who proposed to cut Mount *Athos*, into the form of a Statue of *Alexander*, which, in its left Hand, should hold a City with ten Thousand Inhabitants, and from its right Hand, pour a River into the Sea." — This Project was never put in Execution. It is not impossible but the Mountain might have been cut, into the Figure of a Man, and he might have built a City in one Hand, but what would he have done for the River? I hope there was one thereabouts before, or it would have puzzled both him and *Alexander*, to have brought one thither by Art.

to have devoted themselves, and their Armour to *Hephæstion*, and that *Eumenes*, whom we mention'd to have had a grudge against him, a short while before, was the first proposer of it. This Office, how ever, he perform'd to him, when dead, lest the King should have entertain'd a Suspicion that he had joyc'd at his Death. *Alexander* gave strict Orders, that none should be appointed Captain over the Auxiliary Horse in his Place, lest his Name should be forgotten in the Cohort, but that it should always be nam'd *Hephæstion's* Cohort, and that the Banner which he had chosen, should be continued to be carried before them, as well in their several Marches, as in Battle. He moreover, exhibited *Gymnick* and *Musical* Sports, much more Sumpuous and Magnificent than any of his former, as well for the Multitude of the Combatants, as the Greatness of the Prizes contended for. Three Thousand Combatants are said to have been reserv'd for this Solemnity, who, shortly after, perform'd their Exercises at his Tomb.



## C H A P. XV.

**T**HE Mourning had now continued a long time, and the King was just beginning to receive some Comfort, his Friends having labour'd much for that purpose, when he was induced to undertake an Expedition against the *Cossæans*, a warlike Nation, bordering upon the *Uxians*. Their Country is Mountainous, and their Towns not fortify'd; for when

they

<sup>1</sup> *Plutarch*, pag. 43. tells us, that " *Alexander* seeking to alleviate his Grief, by War, set out, as it were, to go a Man-hunting; for he fell upon the *Cossæans*, and put the whole Nation to the Sword, not sparing so much as the Children." I cannot imagine what could induce him to give us a Story so inhuman, and, at the same time, so improbable. *Strabo*, in his Eleventh Book

they perceive their Land invaded by a strong Army, they immediately betake themselves to the Tops of their Mountains (either in a Body, or in separate Parties, as it happens) where no Enemy can approach; and when the Invaders of their Country are retired, they return to their Habitations, and take up their former Trade of Plundering and Robbing their Neighbours, by which Means they support themselves. *Alexander*, however, notwithstanding it was Winter, drove them from their Holds, and subdued them; for neither the Rigour of the Season, nor the Difficulties they met with, could either discourage him, or *Ptolemy*, who commanded a part of his Army; for they forc'd them from all their Retreats, and found no Place inaccessible, nor no Country impassable where true Valour directed them. When *Alexander* return'd thence to *Babylon*, <sup>2</sup> Embassadors from *Lybia* met

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Book, pag: 795, assures us, that "these *Coffæans* inhabited a Country adjacent to *Media*, and that they were a wild and untractable People." — Perhaps *Alexander* knew that, and thought the surest Way to tame them, was to knock their Brains out. — That the *Persian* Monarchs were wont to buy their Peace of them, to keep them from infesting their Territories, with their usual Depredations; for whenever they attempted to subdue them, the *Coffæans* retiring to their Mountains, easily baulk'd all their Endeavours; so that the *Persian* Kings were forced to pay an annual Tribute, when they went to their Summer Palace at *Ebatana*, for their safe Passage back again, to *Babylon*. — *Diodorus* tells us, lib. xvii. p. 577. that "*Alexander* conquered them in forty Days; that he worsted them several times, and, at last, oblig'd them to deliver up their Country, and to redeem their Captives. Whereupon he ordered strong Forts to be built there, left, when the Army was withdrawn, so headstrong a Nation should endeavour to throw off the Yoke." — This Trouble of building Forts might have been spared, had the Inhabitants been all killed before, for dead People are not usually so unruly.

<sup>2</sup> *Justin* acquaints us, lib. xii. cap. 13. "That not only the Embassadors from the *Carthaginians*, and the rest of the Cities of *Africa*, but also those from *Spain*, *Sicily*, *Gaul*, *Sardinia*, and some from *Italy*, waited his return to *Babylon*; for the Terrore of his Name had so possessed the whole World, that all Nations paid Homage

met him, who congratulated him, and bestowed a Crown upon him, for the great Victories he had gain'd in *Asia*. From *Italy*, the *Brettii*, *Leucani*, and *Tyrrheni*, sent Embassadors upon the same Account, as the *Carthaginians* are said also to have done ; Embassadors likewise came to him from the *Aethiopians*, and *European Scythians*, as also from the *Celtæ* and *Iberians*, all requesting his Friendship ; the Name of which last People, and their Manner of Dress, were then first made known to the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*. Some Embassadors are said to have come to prevail upon him to decide the Differences between them, and their Neighbours. And then it was that *Alexander* seem'd, both to himself, and those about him, to have the Sovereignty as well of the Earth, as Sea. *Aristus* and *Asclepiades*, two Writers of *Alexander's Actions*, tell us, that the *Romans* then sent Embassadors to him, and he, having given them Audience, and made a nice Observation of their Habit, Diligence, and Generosity, and fully learn'd the Customs and Manners of their Nation, begun, from that time, to foresee the future Greatness of the *Roman Empire*. But this last I give, as neither certain, nor altogether improbable ; for no Writer of the *Roman Affairs* makes the least mention of any such Embassy ; neither do the two chief Authors whom I most rely upon, namely, *Ptolemy* and *Aristobulus*, take any notice of it, in their Histories of *Alexander's Actions*. And, indeed, it seems very improbable, that the *Roman Republick*, which was at that time free, should send

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" *Image to him, as if he had been destin'd to rule over them ; for which Cause he hasted to Babylon, &c.*" — This last Paragraph is contradicted by *Diodorus*, lib. xvii. pag. 578. for he assures us, with much more Probability, that to give his Soldiers some Ease, after his late Expedition against the *Cossaens*, he marched a slow pace to *Babylon*. *Arrian* not only doubts of an Embassy from the *Romans*, but tells us plainly, that the *Arabians* sent no Embassadors to him, for which reason he was resolv'd to wage War with them.

an Embassy to a foreign Prince, at so vast a distance from their Territories, especially when they could have no Fears to urge them, nor any Hopes of Profit to induce them thereto, and when, it is well known, they bore a mortal Hatred both to the Name, and Office of Kings, as the Usurpers of the Liberties of the People.



## C H A P. XVI.

**A**LEXANDER, after this, dispatch'd *Heracles*, the Son of *Argæus*, with his Ship-Carpenters, into *Hyrcania*, to cut down Wood from the Mountains there, to build him a Number of long Ships; some Open, and others with Decks, according to the *Græcian* Manner of Building: for he had a strong Inclination to have a full Knowledge what Communication that Sea, call'd the *Hyrcanian*, had with any other; and whether it had an Entercourse with the *Euxine* Sea, or with the *Eastern* Ocean, beyond *India*; in the same manner as the *Persian* and *Red Seas* were found to be but Gulphs belonging to the Ocean. For the Bounds of the *Caspian*, or *Hyrcanian* Sea, were not yet known, tho' many war-like Nations bordered upon it, and many great and Navigable Rivers discharg'd their Waters into it: For, from *Bactria*, the *Oxus*, the greatest River of *Asia* (those of *India* excepted) flows into it; and from *Scythia* the <sup>1</sup> *Oxyartes*; and, many are of Opinion,

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<sup>1</sup> Neither *Curtius*, nor any of his Commentators, have taken the least notice of the Contents of the former Part of this Chapter. The River which is here called *Oxyartes*, must needs be the *Orxantes*, or *Indian Tanais*, which separates *Scythia* from *Bactria*; and this new Name can be nothing more than an Error of the Transcribers

that

that the *Arâxes*, which passes through *Armenia*, discharges it self into this Sea. These are great Rivers, into which several lesser Ones pour their Waters ; besides, there are many small Streams which run directly into this Sea : These are already known ; but those on the other side, where the *Nomadæ Scythians* dwell, are altogether unknown. When *Alexander* had passed the River *Tigris*, with his Army, in his Way to *Babylon*, he was met by the <sup>2</sup> *Chaldean* Southsayers, who, calling him apart from his Friends, intreated him not to proceed on his Journey to *Babylon*, telling him, they were assu'red from the Oracle of *Belus*, that his Entrance into the City, at that time, would be attended with ill Consequences to him : He then answered them with a Verse out of *Euripodes*

*Mārtis d'æus θ̄̄sis eind̄es + aλ̄s.*

He is the best Diviner, who guesses rightest.

However, they reply'd, “ At least, O King, do “ not turn thy Face Westward, nor enter the City that “ Way, with thy Army, but fetch a Compais round “ and come in with thy Face towards the East.” This he was resolv'd to comply with ; but the Difficulty of the <sup>3</sup> Road, which was both Watry and Marshy, forc'd

<sup>2</sup> *Justin*, lib. xii. cap. 13. acquaints us, “ That it was one of the “ *Magi* or *Chaldean* Southsayers, who met him, and forewarned “ him not to enter the City, for it would be fatal to him.” *Plutarch*, pag. 44. tells us, that “ *Nearchus*, who had sailed out of the Ocean “ by the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*, came to assure him, that “ he had met some *Chaldean* Diviners, who warn'd him not to “ go thither. But the King slighted this Advertisement, and went “ on, but coming nigh the Walls, he saw vast Flocks of Crows “ fighting with each other, some whereof fell down just by “ him.”

<sup>3</sup> This is contrary to *Justin*, lib. xii. cap. 13. who tell us, that “ laying aside his Design of going to *Babylon*, he turned aside to

“ *Buria*,

forc'd him to change that Resolution, either Chance or Destiny, pushing him upon that Way, which was to prove fatal to him. But, perhaps, it was much more eligible for him to be taken off in the very height of his Glory, and Happiness, while he was yet belov'd and rever'd by his own Soldiers, than to have surviv'd his Successes, and have afterwards experienc'd a different Scene of Affairs. And for this Reason, in all probability, it was, that *Solon* warn'd *Crœsus* to look towards the End of a long Life, and pronounce none Happy, before he was divested of Mortality. The Death of <sup>4</sup> *Hephæstion* seems to have contributed much to that of *Alexander*; for, in my Opinion, he had rather have gone before him, than have bore the Loss of him, in the same manner as *Achilles* had rather have died in the room of his Friend *Patroclus*, than have been left behind, to revenge his Death upon his Enemies.

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" *Bursia*, a City on the other side the *Euphrates*, which had been  
 " long uninhabited, where he was over-persuaded by *Anaxarchus*,  
 " the Philosopher, to despise the Predictions of those Southsayers,  
 " as false and uncertain, and proceed to *Babylon*." — But his  
 Authority will never over-ballance that of *Arrian*; and besides, the  
 Conclusion of the very next Chapter of this Book, confirms *Arrian's*  
 Account.

4 *Aelian* informs us, that " when *Alexander* encircled the Tomb  
 " of *Achilles*, with a Crown of Gold, *Hephæstion* did the same to  
 " that of *Patroclus*, to signify that he was as dear to *Alexander*, as  
 " *Patroclus* was to *Achilles*. *Hist. Var.* 12. 7.





## C H A P. XVII.

**H**E had, moreover, a suspicion, that the *Chaldaeans* endeavour'd to deter him from entering *Babylon* at that time, not so much by the Advice of the Oracle, as for their own private Interest. For the Temple of *Belus*, is situate in the Heart of that City, a most magnificent and stupendous Fabrick, built with Brick, and cemented together with a bituminous Substance, instead of Mortar. This, with all the rest of the *Babylonian* Temples, was subverted by *Xerxes*, at his return from his *Græcian* Expedition: Whereupon *Alexander* determin'd to repair it, or, as some say, re-build it upon the old Foundations; for which Reason, he had order'd the *Babylonians* to clear away the Rubbish, for he design'd to build it in a more august and stately Manner, than before. But whereas they had made a much les Progress in the Work, than he expected, during his Absence, he had some Thoughts of employing his whole Army about it. Much Land had heen Consecrated and set apart by the *Affyrian* Monarchs, for the God *Belus*, and much Gold had been offered to him: From these, the Temple was formerly re-built, and Sacrifices to the God provided. But while the Temple lay in Ruins, and the annual Revenues belonging thereto, were appropriated to no particular Use, *Alexander* had given them to the *Chaldaeans*; for which Reason he begun to suspect that they design'd to hinder him from entering into *Babylon*, for fear that, in

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<sup>1</sup> Not a Syllable of the Contents of this Chapter are to be found in any other Author of *Alexander's History*; for *Arrian* is more full and particular, especially in relating material Circumstances, than all the rest together.

a short Time, the Temple should be built, and they strip'd of such ample Revenues. However, *Aristobulus* assures us, that the King was willing to follow the Advice of the *Chaldaean*s, and take a Journey round, to enter the City with his Face towards the East; and accordingly, on the first Day, encamp'd with his Army, not far from the *Euphrates*; but the Day after, having the River on his right Hand, and marching along the Bank, for that purpose, he found the Design impracticable, for the Ground thereabouts, was all an impassable Morass; wherefore, partly by his own Will, and partly against it, he disobey'd the Oracle's Advice.



## C H A P. XVIII.

**A**RISTOBULUS tells us a strange Story, which happen'd to one of *Alexander*'s Friends, in this manner; When <sup>1</sup> *Apollodorus* the *Ampibopolitan* (one of the King's Friends, who had been deputed to preside over the Army, which was left for the Security of the Province, *Mazaeus* being then Governour) met him at his return from *India*; and perceived how severely he had treated several Governours of Provinces, he wrote to his Brother *Pythagoras*,

<sup>1</sup> An Account of this *Apollodorus*, and his being deputed to supply that Office, is given by *Arrian*, lib. iii. cap. 16. *Plutarch*, pag. 44. calls him Governour of *Babylon*, and tells us, that "Alexander being privately inform'd, that he had sacrificed to know what would become of him, sent for *Pythagoras* the Soothsayer, who not denying the Thing, the King ask'd him in what Condition he found the Victim, and when he told him, the Lobe of the Liver was defective, A great Presage indeed, says he! However, he offer'd *Pythagoras* no Injury, but was much troubled that he had slighted *Nearchus*'s Advice." How much more exact and circumstantial has *Arrian* been in relating the Particulars of this Story.

one of those *Augurs*, who gave Answers by inspecting the Entrals of Beasts, and consulted him about his own Safety. *Pythagoras* ask'd him, in Answer to his Letter, of whom he principally stood in Fear, that he might divine accordingly ; and when he reply'd, that he chiefly dreaded *Alexander* and *Hephæstion* ; the *Augur* first search'd the Entrals for *Hephæstion*, and when he saw the Laps, or Fillets of the Liver wanting, he wrote a Letter, and sent it seal'd to his Brother *Apollodorus*, then at *Ecbatana*, wherein he assur'd him, he needed not stand in Fear of *Hephæstion*, for he would shortly be taken off by Death. And *Aristobulus* tells us, that *Apollodorus* receiv'd this Letter the Day before *Hephæstion*'s Decease. Then *Pythagoras* again consulting for *Alexander*, and finding the Fillets of the Liver wanting there too, wrote to the same purpose, a second time to *Apollodorus*. He never so much as endeavour'd to conceal the Matter, but freely communicated the whole Story to the King, as a Testimony of his sincere good Will towards him, and intreated him to beware of the Danger which threatned. *Alexander* hereupon commended him, for his Fidelity, and when he enter'd in to *Babylon*, he demanded of *Pythagoras* by what Means he was inform'd of those Things which he had written to his Brother concerning him ; and being answer'd, that the Livers of the Sacrifices, offer'd for that purpose, were defective ; he again quir'd what that portended ; to which the *Augur* reply'd, Some great Mischief. However, the King was so far from being offend'd at him, that he respect'd him the more, for relating the whole Matter to him simply and sincerely. *Aristobulus* tells us, he receiv'd this Story from *Pythagoras*'s own Mouth ; who also, afterwards, inspected the Entrals for *Perdiccas* and *Antigonus*, and gave the same Responses, and the Events happen'd accordingly ; for *Perdiccas* was slain making War agianst *Ptolemy*, and *Antigonus* lost his Life in a Battle against *Seleucus*, and *Ly-simachus*,

*Simachus*, at the River *Ipsus*. A strange Story is also related concerning <sup>2</sup> *Calanus*, the Sage, to this effect. When he was carried towards the Funeral Pile, immediately before his Death, he kissed all his Friends, and took his Leave of them, except *Alexander*; and when he drew near the King, for that End, he refus'd to kiss, and take his Leave of him, then; but told him, he would find him again at *Babylon*, and do it there. These Words were not at all regarded, at that time, by those who heard them; but the Decease of *Alexander* afterwards, at *Babylon*, brought them fresh into their Memories, and they then look'd upon them as a Prophecy of his Death.



## C H A P. XIX.

WHEN *Alexander* was on his Way to *Babylon*, he was met by several Embassadors from *Greece*, but on what particular Account they were sent, is not certain; tho', in my Opinion, they might be dispatch'd by the *Grecians* to crown him with Garlands, and congratulate him for the Victories he had gain'd, as well over other Nations, as the *Indians*; and to manifest the publick Joy, for his safe Return out of *India*. But whatever their Busines was, 'tis most certain, he receiv'd them kindly, and sent them Home, highly Honour'd: And whatever Statues of famous Men, or Images of Gods, or other Things, set apart for Divine Worship, *Xerxes* had

<sup>2</sup> *Plutarch* gives us a short Sketch of this, at the Conclusion of his Account of *Calanus*, p. 42. for he tells us, "that before he ascended the Pile, he embrac'd, and took Leave of all the *Maccedonians*, who stood by, desiring them to pass that Day in Mirth, and good Fellowship, with their King, whom, in a shott while, he said, he doubted not but to see again at *Babylon*.

carried away, and deposited, either at *Babylon*, or *Pasargadæ*, or *Susa*, or any other City of *Asia*, he deliver'd them to those Embassadors, to be transported back to *Greece*; by which means the brazen Statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, came to be restor'd; as also, the Image of *Diana* of <sup>1</sup> *Cercæa*. He had, moreover, a Navy of Ships at *Babylon*, as *Aristobulus* tells us, which were partly brought from the *Persian* Sea, by the River *Euphrates*, and partly from *Phænicia*: Those which arriv'd from <sup>2</sup> *Phænicia*, were two *Quinqueremes*; three *Quadriremes*; twelve *Triremes*, and thirty Gallies of thirty Oars a-piece: These were taken to pieces in *Phænicia*, and thence convey'd over Land to *Thapsacus*, upon the River *Euphrates*; where, being again joyn'd, they were carry'd down the River to *Babylon*. The same Author also tells us, that *Alexander* had order'd Cypress Trees be cut, in that Province, for building several other Ships, they growing there in great plenty; but forasmuch as other Naval Stores were wanting, which these Parts afforded not, he was supply'd with them by the Purple-Fishers, and other Sea-fairing Men, belonging to *Phænicia*, and the Coast thereabouts. He then dug a deep and capacious Bafon, for a Haven, at *Babylon*, capable of containing a Thousand Sail of long Gallies, and built Houses for all manner of Naval Stores, adjoining thereto. He also dispatch'd *Miccalus* of *Clazomene*, with five Hundred Talents, into *Phænicia*, and *Syria*, to hire or procure as many Sailors as he could, because he design'd to fix Colonies

<sup>1</sup> *Blankard* informs us, that this ought to be *Diana of Agræa*.

<sup>2</sup> These were, without doubt, the Ships, which *Curtius* tells us, *lib. x. cap. 1. 19.* *Alexander* ordered to be built, all *Septiremes*, and this accurate Narration of *Arrian's*, plainly shows every Tittle of *Curtius's*, Account concerning them, to be false; for, first, They were to be built in some part of *Phænicia*, and then to be immediately taken to pieces, and be convey'd by Carriages, over Land, to *Thapsacus*, and there, only joyn'd together again. And, Secondly, They were so far from being all *Septiremes*, that there was not one of that Bulk among them.

all along the Shores of the *Perſian Gulph*, and the Neighbouring Islands; for he was of Opinion, that that Coast might, in time, become as Rich and Populous as the *Pbæniciān Coast*. He made these extraordinary Preparations for fitting out a Fleet, on a Pretence of making War against the *Arabians*, a populous Nation, because they had neither ſent Embaffadors to him, requesting his Friendship, as all others thereabouts had done, nor made him any Preſents, nor paid him Homage; but my Opinion is, it was only his ungovernable Ambition, which, urg'd him to that Attempt, which no Acquisitions, howſoever extenſive, were capable of ſatisfying.



## C H A P. XX.

**I**SOME Authors tell us, that he design'd to invade the *Arabians*, because they worship'd only two Gods, namely, *Cælum* and *Bacchus*. *Cælum*, or the Firmament, because it was visible, and contain'd, within its Concave, the Stars, but especially the Sun, which is of vast and universal Benefit to

<sup>1</sup> This design'd Expedition of *Alexander*, againſt the *Arabians*, was prevented by his Death. Neither *Curtius*, nor *Diodorus*, nor *Justin*, nor *Plutarch*, take any Notice thereof; perhaps, because it was never put in Execution. They are all in ſuch a violent hurry to come to relate the Circumstances of his Death, that this, of his Life, is quite neglected. And here I cannot forbear mentioning one Error of *Curtius*, who inſinuates, that all this mighty Preparation of a Fleet of *Septiæme-Gallies*, was to fail through the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*, and thence againſt *Carthage*, and the Coasts of the *Mediterranean*.—The imposſibility of this has been already ſhewn in my Observations upon the first Chapter of this Book. However, *Arrian* here puts us out of all doubt concerning it, by affiuring us, that the Fleet was fitted out for an Expedition againſt the *Arabians*; and *Strabo*, in his Sixteenth Book, pag. 1076, confirms it.

Mankind ; and *Bacchus*, for the Fame of his Expedition into *India*. Wherefore *Alexander* deem'd himself not unworthy to be worship'd by them, as a third God ; because his great Actions were no ways inferiour to those of *Bacchus* ; and he resolv'd, after he had conquer'd the *Arabians*, to have restor'd them their ancient Liberties, as he had done to the *Indians*. The fruitfulness of the Country, was no small Temptation to its Invader ; for he had been inform'd that *Cassia* grew there, in the marshy Grounds, and that Myrrh, and Frankincense were gather'd from the Trees ; that Cinnamon was the Produce of a Shrub ; and that their Meadows, without any human Art, brought forth plenty of Spikenard. The Extent of the Country, according to his Information, along the Sea-Coast, was not less than *India*, and that many Islands lay not far off ; as also, that there were sundry Creeks, and other Places there, fit for the Reception of a Navy, and divers convenient Places to built Cities in, which, in time, might become Rich and Populous. Two Islands were particularly reported to lie in the Sea, over against the Mouths of the *Euphrates* ; one whereof was not above one hundred and twenty Furlongs distant, from the Mouths of that River, and the Sea-Shore. This was the lesser of the two, cover'd with thick Woods, and had a Temple therein, dedicated to *Diana* : The Inhabitants had their Dwellings round the Temple. The Report goes, that Harts, and Goats, and other Animals stray'd in the Woods there unmolested, because it was deem'd Sacrilegious to take them, on any other account, than to offer in Sacrifice to the Goddess. This Island, as *Aristobulus* tells us, *Alexander* order'd to be call'd <sup>2</sup> *Icarus*, from one of that Name in the *Ægean* Sea, wherein *Icarus*, the Son of

<sup>2</sup> This Island is mentioned by *Strabo* in his Sixteenth Book, pag. 1110, by the same Name ; but instead of a Temple of *Diana*, he affirms, that there is there a Temple of *Apollo*.

*Dædalus*, is said to have fallen, and have been drown'd, when he disobey'd his Father's Orders, and attempted to fly into the upper Regions of the Air, with Wings, which were only cemented together with Wax, but the Event was, the Sun melted the Wax, and he fell into the Sea, which was afterwards call'd by his Name ; as also a small Island not far off. The other Island is about one Day and Nights sail distant from the Mouths of the *Euphrates*, and named *Tylus* : It is very large and spacious, and not Mountainous, nor Woody, but produces plenty of several sorts of Fruits, pleasant and agreeable to the Taste. These Accounts were delivered in to *Alexander* by *Archias*, who was dispatched in a Ship, with thirty Oars, on purpose to discover the Navigation of those Seas ; and when he had arrived at the Island *Tylus*, durst proceed no further. However, *Androsthenes* being sent afterwards, with another Ship of the same sort, discover'd a great Part of the *Arabian Coast*. But *Hieron of Soli*, far exceeded all who went before him, upon the discovery of that Shore ; for he, with a Galley of thirty Oars, was commanded to sail round the whole *Arabian Cherronese*, 'till he arriv'd at the Gulph bordering upon *Ægypt*, and the City of *Heroes*. But neither durst he venture so far as he ought, tho' he sailed almost round the Country of *Arabia*. For returning back, he inform'd the King, that the *Cherronese* was of a vast Extent, little less than that of *India* ; and that the Promontory or utmost Point of Land thereof, stretch'd it self far out into the Ocean. But this was little more than those who came from *India* with *Nearchus*, had seen before, as they turn'd into the *Persian Gulph*, and were hardly held from attempting further Discovery, *Onoscritus*, Captain of the Royal Galley, having a strong Desire to proceed that Way. But *Nearchus*, the Admiral, assures us, that he restrain'd them, because their Orders extended no further than only to give a good Account of the Coast along the *Persian Gulph*.

He was not sent out by *Alexander* to beat the Sea, nor to find how far the Ocean stretched itself, but to get Knowledge of the Country adjacent to the Sea ; to find out who were the Inhabitants, what Ports or Creeks for Shipping they had, and what plenty of fresh Water ; what were their Customs and Manners ; what part of the Country produced good, and what part bad Fruits ; and these Orders he had observed for the safety of the Army on board his Fleet. And he assured them, that it was unlikely they should ever return safe, if they steer'd their Course beyond the Deserts of *Arabia* ; and that very Consideration is said to have deterr'd *Hieron* afterwards, from proceeding further.



## C H A P. XXI.

**I**N the mean time, while they were busied in preparing *Triremes*, and digging the Bason at *Babylon*, *Alexander* sail'd down the *Euphrates*, to the Canal call'd : *Pallacopas*, which is distant from *Babylon*, about eight hundred Furlongs. Now *Pallacopas* is no River arising from Fountains, but a Canal drawn from the *Euphrates*. For that River having its Rise among the Mountains of *Armenia*, during the whole Winter Season, is easily confin'd in its own

<sup>1</sup> The Story of *Alexander's Voyage* down the *Pallacopas*, which *Preinsberius* has inserted in his Supplement to *Curtius*, is abstracted from *Arrian*. However, *Strabo* has handled this Matter thoroughly, in the Sixteenth Book of his Geography, pag. 1075, 1076. But as his Accounts thereof is too long to be inserted here, and differs so little from *Arrian*, I shall refer my Readers to his Book for satisfaction. *Gronovius* has wrote a small Treatise, concerning this huge Canal, or Drain, which he has annexed to his new Edition of *Arrian*, wherein he gives us the Opinions of all the Ancients, as well as Moderns, about it.

Channel, its Waters being then low, because the Rains turn to Snow; but in the Spring, and especially about the Summer Solstice, the Snows melt, and it swells to a prodigious height; and overflowing all its Banks, waters the *Affyrian* Fields on each side, and would certainly drown the whole Country, unless it discharg'd a vast quantity of its Waters through *Pallacopas*, into the Lakes and Marshes, and thence along the Confines of *Arabia*, into a Fenny Country; whence, through sundry secret and subterraneous Passages, it finds a Way to the Sea. When the Snows are melted, and the Stock of Water thence arising, exhausted, which usually happens about the Setting of the *Pleiades*, the *Euphrates* begins to contract it self; yet, nevertheless, still the greatest part of the Stream runs through the *Pallacopas*, into the marshy Countries, and thence into the Sea. Unless therefore the Mouth of this Canal, call'd *Pallacopas*, were dam'd up, and the Stream of the River diverted into its proper Channel, *Euphrates* would be so exhausted of its Water, as not to afford enough to overflow the *Affyrian* Fields on each side. Wherefore the Governour of *Babylon* had, at a vast Expence, and with immense Labour, obstructed that Out-let of the River; which was the more difficult to perform, because the Ground thereabouts was light and ouzy, and afforded the Water an easy Passage through, insomuch, that ten Thousand Men were employ'd three whole Months before they could finish the Work. *Alexander* coming to the Knowledge of this, was resolv'd to do something for the Benefit of the *Affyrians*; whereupon he determin'd to dam up that huge flux of Water, out of the *Euphrates* into *Pallacopas*, in a much more effectual manner, than they had already done; and when he had gone about thirty Furlongs from the Mouth of the Canal, he found the Earth Rocky, which, if he proceeded to cut through, and continued it to the ancient Channel of *Pallacopas*, the firmness of the Earth

would not only hinder the Water from soaking through, and wasting, but also its Out-let, at the time of the Overflow, would be render'd much more easy and commodious. On this Account, *Alexander* sail'd down the River *Euphrates*, to the Mouth of *Pallacopas*, and by that Canal, into the *Arabian Territories*, where, finding a Situation suited to his Purpose, he built a City which he environ'd with a Wall, and therein planted a Colony of *Greek* Mercenaries, either such as freely consented to settle there, or such, as by reason of Age or Infirmities, were render'd unserviceable in War.



## C H A P. XXII.

**H**E, then despising the Advice of the *Chaldeans*, because no Mischief had befallen him in that City, as their Oracles predicted (for he had continu'd in *Babylon* some time, and gone out again, and no Accident happen'd) being full of himself, resolv'd to run all Hazards, and determin'd to sail back through the Marshes, having the City on his left Hand. And when some of his Gallies, by reason of the Ignorance of their Commanders, had lost their Way, among the numerous Windings of the River, in those fenny Places, he sent them skilful Pilots to direct them, and bring the whole Navy together. Many of the ancient Monuments of the Kings of *Affyria*, are said to be plac'd among those Marshes, and as <sup>1</sup> *Alexander* proceeded in his Voyage, being Gouvernour

<sup>1</sup> *Plutarch* assures us, pag. 45. that "when once *Alexander* gave Way to Superstition, his Mind grew so disturbed, and he became so timorous, that if the least unusual Thing happened, he would needs have it deem'd a Prodigy." — That will always be the

vernour of his own Galley himself, a high Wind chan-  
ced to rise, which forc'd the Royal *Tiara*, and the  
Fillet which encircled it, off from his Head: The  
*Tiara*, as being the most ponderous, fell into the Wa-  
ter, and was irrecoverably lost, but the Fillet being  
carried away by the Wind, was caught by a certain  
Reedgrowing out of one of the Royal Monuments, on  
which Account it was deem'd an unlucky Presage. A  
Sailor then swam thither, and took the Fillet off from  
the Reed, and fearing the Water might injure it, if  
he kept it in his Hand, he plac'd it upon his Head,  
and brought it to the King. Many of the Writers of  
*Alexander's Life*, tell us, that he had a Talent of  
Silver bestowed upon him for his Diligence, and was  
immediately afterwards put to Death; the *Chaldeans*  
advising the King, that he who had so insolently en-  
circl'd his Temples with the Royal Diadem, ought  
not to escape with Life. However, *Aristobulus*,  
whom I much rather listen to, informs us, that he first  
receiv'd a Talent for the hazard he had run, and was  
afterwards order'd to be whipt, for his inadvertency,  
in placing the Fillet upon his Head; he also assures

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the Case with any one, who voluntarily resigns his own Senses, and suffers himself to be led by the Nose, by thofe who are interested to abuse him. — “ And his Court was strong'd with Diviners and  
“ Priests, whose Busines it was to sacrifice and foretel future Ac-  
“ cidents.” — No doubt of it: Where the Carcase lies, thither  
will the Ravens flock. They are the Tools which courageous Mo-  
narchs makes use of to serve their Purposes, and they make weak  
Monarchs the Fools to serve theirs. — *Diodorus* tells us,  
*lib. xvii. pag. 582.* “ That as *Alexander* was returning to *Babylon*  
“ through the marshy Places (which the River *Euphrates* makes, by  
“ falling into *Pallacopas*) a strange Omen happened, for the Boughs  
“ which hung over-head, catching hold of the Royal *Tiara*, it fell  
“ off from the King's Head, into the Water.” And *Gregoras*, in his  
Tenth Book, adds, “ that one of the Sailors soon seized it by swim-  
“ ming, but being unable to hold it in his Hand, and swim at the  
“ same time, he placed it upon his own Head, and thus carried it  
“ to the King, who rewarded him with a Talent of Silver, because  
“ he had saved the Royal *Tiara*, but cut off his Head, because he  
“ had placed it thereupon.”

us, that he was a *Pbænician*. Some Authors relate this Story of *Seleucus*, and affirm that the Prodigy signify'd *Alexander's* Death, and *Seleucus's* Advancement to a great part of the Empire. He, indeed, of all those who succeeded *Alexander*, not only receiv'd the largest share of Sovereignty, but had the most capacious Soul, and was possess'd of a greater part of the Royal Treasures than any of the rest.



### C H A P. XXIII.

WHEN *Alexander* arriv'd at *Babylon*, he found *Peucestas* return'd from *Persia*, with twenty Thousand *Persians*, and a great Number of *Coffæans* and *Tapurians*, two fierce and warlike Nations, bordering upon *Persia*. *Philoxenus* also arriv'd with an Army out of *Caria*. *Menander* with another, out of *Lydia*; and *Menidas* with some Troops of Horse. At this time, came Embassadors from *Greece*, who approach'd him with Crowns upon their Heads, and presented him with Crowns of Gold, their Design being to offer him Divine Worship. This happen'd not long before his Decease. Then having extoll'd the *Persians*, for paying an exact Obedience to *Peucestas*, and *Peucestas* for his wife and mild Administration of the *Persian* Affairs, he rank'd them all among his *Macedonian* Troops; but in such a manner, as that the *Decurio*, or Person who presided over every Company, should be a *Macedonian*, as also the *Semidecurio*, so call'd from the Wages he receiv'd, being less than a *Decurio*, but more than the common Soldiers. Next were twelve *Persians*; and last of all, a *Macedonian Decurio*, so that every Company contain'd four *Macedonians*, three of whom receiv'd more Stipend than the rest, and the fourth presided over them. The *Macedonians* were arm'd with their own Country Weapons.

**Weapons:** The *Perſians* partly with Arrows, and partly with Darts. In the mean time, the King took much pleasure in ſeeing his Fleet exercife their Oars; and there was a great Emulation between the *Triremes* and *Quadrireme* Gallies, in the River; and Crowns were diſtributed among the Victors, as well to the Rowers, as to the Commanders. Then return'd those whom he had diſpatch'd to the Oracle of *Hammon*, to enquire what Honours he might pay to *Hephaeftion*, who affur'd him, *Hammon*'s Anſwer was, That he might ſacrifice to him as to a Hero. Which Anſwer, pleaſing him, he offer'd Sacrifices to him accordingly. He then wrote a Letter to *Cleomenes*, a wicked Man, who had done much Mifchief to *Ægypt*. As to his Care for the paſervation of the Memory of his Kindneſs and good Will to *Hephaeftion*, after his Death, I cannot think it culpable, but ſome Paſſages in the ſame Letter ſcarce admit of an Excuse: For, in the

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Most of the Authors of the History of *Alexander* agree in this, and accordingly diſcribed it; but *Lucian* has done it more copiouſly and elegantly than all of them. "Whoever, ſays he, deny'd divine Honours and Adoration to *Hephaeftion*, was deem'd guilty of a heinous Crime by *Alexander*; for the King not only beſtow'd a magnificent Interrment upon him, but order'd that he ſhould be worshiped as a God, after his Death, to ſhew the exceilive Love he bore him, whiſt he was alive. And accordingly, many Cities erected Temples, dedicated Shrines, rear'd Altars, and appointed Festivals to the new Diety. To ſwear by *Hephaeftion*'s Name, was the moſt obligatory Oath, which could be made; and either to heſitate in the Worſhip, or perform it with a ſhew of Indiſference, was a capital Offence. This effeminate Diſpoſition, this Madneſs, gave opportunity to Sycophants, to buzz all manner of Mifchief into the King's Ear; for ſtrange Dreams were then dream'd; *Hephaeftion*'s Ghost was ſeen, and his Anſwers to certain Questions were publifh'd every where. Laſtly, Altars and Holydays were iſtituted to the familiar God, the avenger of Injuries. With theſe the King was, at firſt, ſtrangely delighted, but afterwards became ſo miserably infatuated, that he gave Credit to them, and boasted, that he not only ſprung from a Race of Gods, but that he could make Gods himſelf."— I fancy the God which he here made, was but ſhort-liv'd; for after *Alexander*'s Death, we hear no more of him.

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first place (writing to *Cleomenes*) he commands him to build a Temple to *Hephaestion*, in *Alexandria*, in *Ægypt*, and another in the Island *Pbarus*, wherein was a Tower, famous both for Height and Workmanship, which also he order'd to be call'd after *Hephaestion's* Name. He moreover commanded that all Writings, concerning Bargains among Merchants, should be inscribed with his Name. These Things are only thus far amiss, because he made so much ado about Things of small Moment. But the Contents of the last part of that Letter admit of no Apology. "If I, says "he, at my arrival in *Ægypt*, find that thou hast built "these Temples and Altars to *Hephaestion*, accord- "ing to my Orders, I will not only pardon all the "Crimes thou hast already committed, but shall "hereafter pass by whatever Crimes thou shalt "commit." Such a License as this, to a cruel Man, who had the Command over many Countries, from so great a King as *Alexander*, will, by no means, bear the least Extenuation,

## C H A P. XXIV.

**B**UT now the Time of *Alexander's* Death drew nigh, whereof *Aristobulus* gives us this as a particular Omen, that while he was distributing the Forces which *Peucestas* had brought out of *Perſia*, and *Ptolemy* and *Menander* from the Sea-Coast, among the *Macedonian* Troops, as is already mention'd, he began to be Thirsty, and departing from his Throne left the Seat empty: On each side of the Throne were Couches, with Supporters of Silver, for his Friends, who then went to accompany the King. In the

the mean while, a certain obscure <sup>1</sup> Fellow (some say a Captive, who had the Priviledge of going without Fetter) seeing the Royal Throne, and the Couches on each side empty, passed through the middle of the Eunuchs, and ascending the Throne, plac'd himself thereon ; the Eunuchs then (not daring to drag him down, from thence, because the *Persian* Laws forbade them) begun to tear their Garments, and beat their Breasts and Faces, as if some great Mischief had been thereby foreboded. When *Alexander* heard the Story, he order'd the Man, who had ascended his Throne, to be examin'd, to try if any had advis'd him to so rash an Action ; but he only answer'd, that he did it out of a certain Levity of Mind, which then took him ; whereupon the *Augurs* judg'd the Omen to be much more unlucky. A few Days after this, when he offer'd the accustom'd Sacrifices for the Success of his Affairs, and had added some new Ones, by the Advice of his Southsayers, he feasted his Friends, and continued the Banquet, 'till late at Night. He is also said to have given the Flesh of the sacrificed Beasts to his Army, and order'd Wine to

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1 Prodigies now begun to come thick, towards the close of *Alexander's* Life, as *Plutarch* informs us, pag. 44. " For a tame Aſ, he says, " fell upon one of the biggest and handsomest of the King's Lyons, " and kick'd him to Death." " *Alexander* having undressed himſelf to be anointed to play at Ball, as he was putting on his Cloaths again, " the young Men, who play'd with him, perceiv'd, a Person cloathed " in the King's Robes, with a Diadem upon his Head, ſitting silently " upon his Throne ; they asked him who he was ? To which he gave " no Answer for a good while, 'till, at laſt, with much ado, coming to " himſelf, he told them his Name was *Dionysius*, that he was of *Mes- fina*, and that for ſome Crime, whereof he was accused, he was " brought thither from the Sea-side, and had been kept long in Pri- " ſon. That *Serapis* appeared to him, had freed him from his " Chains, conducted him to that Place, commanded him to put on " the Royal Robe and Diadem, as also to ſit where they found him, " and ſay nothing. *Alexander* hereupon, by the Direction of his " Southſayers, put the Fellow to Death". — Some other Writers have taken notice of this Story, but their Accounts are too trifling to deserve Conſideration.

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be distributed among them, according to their Numbers, in each Troop and Company. Some Authors add, that he was then willing to have retir'd from the Banquet to his Bed-Chamber, but was met on his Way by *z Medius*, one of his Friends, at that time

<sup>2</sup> We have had strange Work with this *Medius*, among Editors, and Commentators; the *Delphini* Editions of *Justin*. lib. xii. cap. 14. calls him *Theffalus Medicus*; and so does he, whoever he was, that wrote the first Supplement to *Curtius*; but it has been known to be an Error a long time. He was a *Theffalian* by Birth: And *Strabo*, lib. xi. pag. 802. 803. tells us of *Larissa*. *Arrian*, also in his *Indian History*, cap. 18. calls him *Medius* the Son of *Oryntemis* of *Larissa*. *Plutarch* acquaints us, pag. 45. that he was a Flatterer, with whom *Alexander* used to converse familiarly, and, towards the close of his Life, to drink, and play at Dice. *Justin* informs us, lib. xii. cap. 14. "That as *Alexander* and his Friends were returning from a Banquet, *Theffalus*, the Physician, (or *Medius* a *Theffalian*, as has been already shewed) invited him and his Companions, to a new Collation, where, taking the Cup into his Hands, he fetch'd a Groan, in the midst of his Draught, as if he had been stab'd to the Heart, and was carried half dead out of the Room, and continued, for some time, in so great Torment, that he desir'd a Sword to put an End to his Misery." — Many Authors say he was then drinking a Health out of *Hercule's* Bowl, which *Atbenaeus* tells us held two Gallons. However, *Plutarch*, pag. 45. has contradicted that Story, and set the whole in a much fairer Light: "The King, says he, having given *Nearchus* a splendid Entertainment, after he had bath'd, as was his Custom, just as he was retiring to Rest, at *Medius's* Request, he went to Supper with him. Here he drank all that Night, and the next Day, to such Excess, that it threw him into a Fever; which seiz'd him, not as some write, after he had drank out of *Hercule's* Bowl; nor was he taken with any sudden Pain in his Back, as if he had been struck with a Launce; for these are the Inventions of some Authors, who thought it became them to make the Conclusion of so great an Action as Tragical, and moving as they could." *Curtius* has got happily out of this Scrape: What he wrote about *Alexander's* Decease, is lost; and what his first Commentator wrote by way of Supplement, is not worth remarking, because it is taken almost Word for Word out of *Justin*. However, I durst venture to hold a good Wager, that *Curtius*, could the Passage be recovered, made him die a Death truly Heroick; for as he had magnified all the Actions of his Life, and swell'd them to an excessive Pitch, he would deem it below the Dignity of the Hero of his Romance, to die a common Death.

in high Favour, who intreated him to go and make merry with him that Night, for that the Sports and Entertainment there would not displease him.

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## C H A P. XXV.

THE Royal Diary gives us an Account, that he eat and drank with *Medius*, and then retir'd to Rest ; and when he awaked, and had wash'd, and refreshed himself, he again supped with *Medius*, and drank 'till late at Night. When he retir'd from the Banquet, and had wash'd, he eat a little and lay down there, because he had some Symptoms of a Fever. Afterwards, he was carried in a Chair to the Temple, and there sacrificed after his usual Manner ; and this he repeated several Days ; and when the Sacrifices were perform'd, he lay in an Apartment prepared on purpose for him, 'till the Evening. In the mean while he issued out Orders to the Captains of his Troops, to make ready for a March in four Days time ; and even nominated those who should travel on Foot ; but those that were to go on board the Fleet with him, were to prepare themselves against the fifth Day. After this, he was carried to the River, and being put on board one of his Gallies, was convey'd to some pleasant Gardens, on the other side, where, after he had wash'd, he went to Rest. The next Day

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*Plutarch* has given us this Story out of the Royal Diary, though he differs in some Particulars from *Arrian*. They have both, in all probability, abridg'd the Account, which is the Reason why sometimes the one, and sometimes the other is the more copious. " He tells us, " that *Alexander's* Fever begun the 18th of the " Month *Dæsus*, and that he died on the 28th of the same Month, after ten Days Illness." — I am oblig'd, for want of room, to refer my Readers to *Plutarch*, p. 45. and 46. for further satisfaction.

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he again bathed, and performed his accustomed Sacrifices, which done, he enter'd his Chamber, and held Discourse with *Medius*, having given Orders to his Officers to attend him in the Morning. He then sup'd moderately, and being convey'd to Bed, had a continu'd Fever upon him, all that Night. However, the next Morning he again washed and sacrificed, and order'd *Nearcibus*, and the rest of his Captains, to prepare for failing the third Day. The next Day he washed and sacrificed as before, but his Fever still continued; notwithstanding which, he again called his Captains to him, and order'd all Things to be made ready for a Voyage, and having bath'd, his Fever increas'd towards the Evening. The next Day, he was carried into a House, adjacent to the Bath, where he perform'd his usual Sacrifices, and once more call'd his chief Officers about him, to give Orders concerning the intended Voyage. The Day following, he was, with great Difficulty, carried to sacrifice; however, he still continued to renew his Orders; and notwithstanding he grew manifestly worse, could not be restrained from sacrificing the Day after. He then commanded his chief Officers to remain with him, in the Hall, and the Inferior One's to wait at the Gates; and growing still worse, he was convey'd from the Hall in the Garden, where he then was, into the Palace: And his chief Officers approaching near, to pay their Attendance, he made Signs that he knew them, but was not able to speak, nor pronounce any thing Articulate, and thus he remain'd all that Night. The Day following his Fever still increas'd, and all that Night, and the next Day, continu'd strong and violent.



## C H A P. XXVI.

AND now his Soldiers express'd a great Desire to see their King; some doubting whether he was alive, others plainly affirming he was dead, but that his Death was conceal'd by his Body-Guards; and to such a height, at last, did their Grief drive them, that many of them forced their Way through the Guards, and enter'd the Royal Apartment. But tho' the King perceiv'd them, his Speech had left him, however, with much difficulty, he lifted up his Head, and looking upon them, stretch'd forth his Hand to each of them. The same Royal Diary also informs us, that *Python, Attalus, Demophoon, Peucestas,*

1 "The *Maeconians*, says *Plutarch*, pag. 45. supposing the King dead, came with great Clamours to the Gates, and threatened his Friends so much, that they were forced to admit them, and let them all pass through, unarm'd, along by his Bed-side."—This, he tells us, was on the 27th Day of the Month *Dæsus*, when he had been Speechless almost two Days, and never spoke after.—However, *Justin*, lib. xii. cap. 19. gives us several fine Speeches which he was said to have spoke just before his Death, (viz.) "That it was the Fate of his Family to die about the Thirtieth Year of their Age. That tho' he knew not whether the *Macedonians* would find a Successor like him, yet he could foresee, as plain as if it was before his Eyes, how much Blood *Macedonia* would shed at his Death; and with what vast Slaughter they would perform his Obsequies."—I have neither room, nor leisure, to transcribe more. They have been all feign'd by some Rhetorician, for the same Reason which *Plutarch* assign'd in the last Observation; for otherwise, *He*, and *Arrian*, who are every where so exact, would never have omitted them. And another Reason I have to believe them feign'd, is, because *Alexander* had been Speechless two Days before that time, and continued so 'till he died.

2 *Plutarch*, pag. 46. mentions none but *Python* and *Seleucus*, who were sent to enquire of *Serapis*, whether they should remove *Alexander* to his Temple.—The Priest of *Serapis*, whoever he was

*Peucestas, Cleomnes, Menidas and Seleucus*, tarried all Night in the Temple of *Serapis*: And haviug ask'd that God, whether it would not be better for *Alexander* to be brought into his Temple, to be restor'd to Health by him, were answer'd by the Oracle, that he should not be brought, for it was best for him to continue where he was. This Answer was brought back to *Alexander*, by his Friends, and in a short while after, as if the Oracle had pronounc'd that the best, he died. *Ptolemy* and *Aristobulus*, in their Accounts of these Transactions, differ not much from the Royal Diary. However, some Authors add, that being asked by his Friends, to whom he would bequeath his Empire, he reply'd, To the Strongest. Others affirm, that he told them, he foresaw with what vast Slaughter, and effusion of Blood, his Kingdoms would perform his Obsequies.



## C H A P. XXVII.

**I**MUST not here forget to take notice, that many other Particulars have been related by Authors concerning *Alexander's Death*; as that he dy'd of Poyson, sent him by *Antipater*, and made up by *Aristotle*, he fearing him, because he had already put *Callisthenes* to Death; they add, that this Poyson was convey'd thither by *Cassander*, the Son of *Antipater*, in the Hoof of a Mule, and given to the King by

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was, was a crafty Knave, and fram'd his Answer as he imagined would best suit his Interest; for had he order'd the King to have been brought, whether he had dy'd by the Way, or in the Temple, or whatever Accident had happen'd, the God would have been blamed; but as he order'd them to keep him where he was, if he had recovered, his Recovery would have been attributed to *Serapis*, and, as he dy'd, even that was deem'd the best for him, meerly because the God, or rather his Priest, had said so.

*Jollas,*

*Jollas*, *Cassander*'s younger Brother. This <sup>1</sup> *Jollas* was one of the King's Cup-bearers, and had receiv'd a Reprof from him a little while before. Others add, that *Medius*, having a vast Esteem for *Jollas*, was privy to the Villany against his Sovereign, for which Reafon he detain'd him thus drinking ; and immediately after he had swallow'd the fatal Cup, he felt Pains so acute and grievous, that he was forced to retire from the Banquet. One Author, in particular, has not blush'd to add, that when he begun to dispair of Recovery, he was willing to have been convey'd privily to the *Eupbrates*, to have cast himself therein, that so, being snatch'd suddenly from human Eyes, he might have given Posterity the greater Af-furance, that as he came from a Race of Gods, he was return'd to the Gods ; but *Roxane*, his Wife, understanding his Resolutions, hindered him : And when she began to bewail her State, and to shed Tears, he told her, she envy'd him the Glory of

<sup>1</sup> We have no Account of *Jollas*'s receiving a Reprof in *Plutarch*, but he tells us of a hearty One which his Brother *Cassander* receiv'd, pag. 44. for " being newly arriv'd out of *Greece*, when he saw some of the *Barbarians* adore the King, he could not forbear laughing at it aloud, which so incensed *Alexander*, that he took him by the Hair, with both his Hands, and knocked his Head against the Wall." — *Curtius* gives us a strange Story, which happened just before the King expired. " It is almost incredible, says he, lib. x. cap. 5. 3. that the King, in that State, should, without any alteration of his Countenance, or his Posture, receive the Farewell of every particular Person of the Army ; and no sooner was the Ceremony o'er, but, as if he had then discharged the last Debt of Nature, he began to sink into the Bed." — That the King should take such a solemn Farewell of all his Army, I think as incredible, as he can do for his Life ; and should have thought the same, had he given me no Caution at the beginning of his Story. But, perhaps the King was dead, and then it is no Wonder at all, that he neither chang'd Countenance nor Posture, and I should have concluded this Conjecture to have been right, had not *Curtius*, given us two or three short Speeches of his afterwards. — But the whole is no more than a Fiction, and has not so much as Probability to support it, for which Reason I shall say no more about it.

his Divine Origine. These Stories I have thus recorded, rather that I might not seem to be ignorant that such Reports were blaz'd abroad, than that I imagin'd them worthy the least Credit.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

**A**LEXANDER died in the <sup>1</sup> Hundred and Fourteenth *Olympiad*, as *Aristobulus* informs us, when *Hegeſias* was *Archon* at *Athens*, after he had liv'd thirty two Years, and eight Months, and reign'd twelve Years and eight Months. His Body was beautiful, and well proportion'd; his Mind brisk and active; his Courage wonderful. He was strong enough to undergo Hardships, and willing to meet Dangers; ever ambitious of Glory, and a strict observer of Religious Duties. As to those Pleasures which regarded the Body, he shew'd himself indifferent; as to the Desires of the Mind,

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<sup>1</sup> *Justin* must certainly be mistaken, *lib. xii. cap. 16.* in making *Alexander* one Month above thirty three Years of Age, at the time of his Death; and much more is *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who says he reigned eighteen Years; and *Nicephorus*, who extends his Life to thirty five, or thirty six Years. He was Born, according to the best and most accurate Account, in the first Year of the CVIth *Olympiad*, on the sixth Day of *June*, when *Elpines* was *Archon* at *Athens*, 398 Years after the Building of *Rome*, and before *Christ* 356, and died *May 22*, according to *Aristobulus*; or *May 24*, according to *Plutarch*, in the first Year of the CXIVth *Olympiad*, when *Hegeſias* was *Archon* at *Athens*, in the last Year of *Jaddus* the High Priest of *Jerusalem*, 429 Years after the Building of *Rome*, when *Lucius Furius Commillus*, and *Junius Brutus Scæva* were *Consuls*, before *Christ* 323, when he had reign'd over *Asia* nigh seven Years, and over his hereditary Kingdoms almost Thirteen. However, as both ancient and modern Authors differ a little upon this Head, we shall refer our Readers, for further satisfaction, to *Sleidan Cont. lib. 32. Freinsheimius's Notes upon Curtius*, and the Chronological Table annexed to this Work.

infatiable,

insatiable. In his Counsels, he was sharp-fighted, and cunning; and pierc'd deep into doubtful Matters, by the Force of his natural Sagacity. In marshalling, arming, and governing an Army, he was thoroughly skill'd; and famous for exciting his Soldiers with Courage, and animating them with Hopes of Success, as also in dispelling their private Fears, by his own Example of Magnanimity. He always enter'd upon desperate Attempts, with the utmost Resolution and Vigour, and was ever diligent in taking any Advantage of his Enemies Delay, and falling upon them unawares. He was a most strict Observer of his Treaties; notwithstanding which, he was never taken at a Disadvantage, by any Craft or Perfidy of his Enemies. He was sparing in his Expences, for his own private Pleasures, but in the distribution of his Bounty to his Friends, Liberal and Magnificent.



## C H A P. XXIX.

**I**F any thing can be laid to *Alexander's Charge*, as committed in the heat and violence of Wrath, or if he may be said to have imitated the *Barbarian* Pride a little too much, and born himself too haughtily, I cannot think them such vast Crimes; and especially

<sup>1</sup> That *Alexander* was guilty of divers gross Crimes, which his unbounded Avarice, and unconquerable Ambition hurried him into, needs not be shewed. *Curtius's* Character of him has been considered already, in the last Chapter of the Criticism prefixed to this Work, for which Reason I shall pass it by here. He has shewed himself a Romancer all along, and it would ill-become him meanly to sneak after that Truth, at the Conclusion of his Work, which he has used so scurvily, and kept at such a vast distance all the while before. *Arrian* considers his Charakter here, as an Historian

especially when one calmly considers his green Years, and uninterrupted Series of Success, it will appear no great Wonder if Court Sycophants, who always flatter Princes to their Detriment, sometimes led him away. But this must be said, in his behalf, that all Antiquity has not produced an Example of such sincere Repentance, in a King, as he has shew'd us. For the greatest part of Men, tho' they be never so conscious of their own Crimes, imagine they can cover them from the knowledge of others, by setting them up for Virtues; but, in my Opinion, the only Means of mollifying a Crime, is a free acknowledgement thereof, and the giving manifest Signs of Penitence: For whoever has receiv'd an Injury, is willing to think himself less griev'd, if the Aggressor confesses his Guilt; and he has some Hopes that he will never suffer by him again, when he sees him so sincerely concern'd for what is past. I cannot condemn *Alexander* for endeavouring to draw his Subjects into the Belief of his Divine Original, nor be induc'd to believe it any great Crime, because 'tis very reasonable to imagine he intended no more by it, than merely to procure the greater Authority among his Soldiers. Neither was he less famous than *Minos*, or *Æacus*, or *Rhadamanthus*, who, all of them challeng'd Kindred with *Jove*; and none of the Ancients condemn'd them for it; nor were his glorious Actions any way inferiour to those of *Theseus*, or *Ione*, tho' the former claim'd *Neptune*, and the latter *Apollo*, for his Father. His assuming and wearing the *Perſian* Habit, seems to have been done with a political View, that he might appear not altogether to despise the *Barbarians*, and that he might also have some Curb to

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in a Political View. *Seneca* and *Lucan*, and Mr. *Le Clerc* in his Criticism, view his Acts in a Philosophical Light, on which account all Conquests will infallibly appear acts of Injustice; and that is the reason of the wide Difference which seems to be between the two Characters; notwithstanding which, both of them, according to their Authors different Designs may be just.

the Arrogance, and Insolence of his *Macedonians*. And for this Cause, I am of Opinion, he plac'd the *Persian Melophori* among his *Macedonian Troops*, and Squadrons of Horse, and allow'd them the same share of Honour. Long Banquets, and 2 deep Drinking, *Aristobulus* assures us, were none of his Delights ; neither did he prepare Entertainments for the sake of the Wine (which he did not greatly love, and seldom drank much of) but to keep up a mutual Amity among his Friends.

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* here taxes *Alexander* with hard drinking, especially towards the Close of his Life : And *Plutarch* tells us, pag. 2. " That it was the extraordinary Heat of his Constitution, which probably occasion'd, not only that, but also the admirable Scent which proceeded from his Skin, insomuch, that his very Cloaths were perfumed therewith." — This last, or something like it, has given rise to the Fable which was spread abroad, about his Corps remaining untainted, and without the least Mark of Corruption, seven Days after his Death, in so hot a Country as *Mesopotamia*. See *Curt.* 10. 10, 12. On the contrary, *Lucian*, in a Dialogue between *Philip* and *Alexander*, tells us, " That his Body lay extended at full length, vastly swoln, and defiling every Thing that touched it, beyond what could be imagined." — Besides, if we consider what *Curtius* has added before, of the heat of the Climate, and the Poyson, which, he says, was given him, it will make the Story of his Body remaining uncorrupted, still the more improbable. Mr. *Le Clerc*, in his Criticism prefix'd to this Work, thinks it was a Story invented by Sycophants, after his Decease ; which is not unlikely ; for, perhaps, the Soundness of the Body, after Death, might be as evident a Proof of a God among the ancient *Greeks*, as it is of a Saint among the modern *Romanists*.



THE MACHIAVELIAN STATE

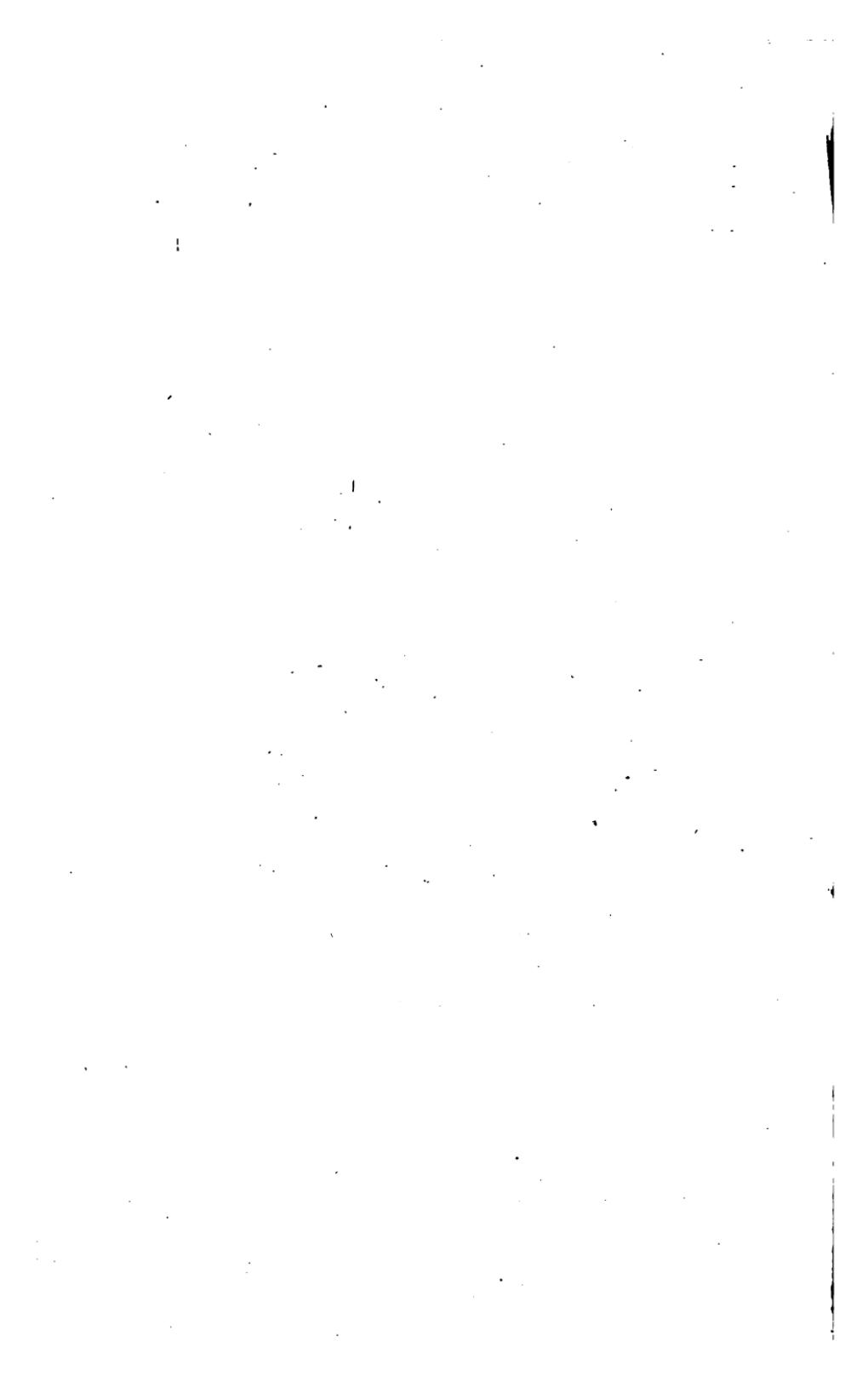
## C H A P. XXX.

WHOMEVER therefore attempts to condemn, or calumniate *Alexander*, does not so much ground his Accusation upon those Acts of his, which really deserve Reproof, but gathers all his Actions as into one huge Mass, and forms his Judgment there-upon: But let any Man consider seriously who he was, what Success he always had, and to what a pitch of Glory he arrived; who, without Controversy, reign'd King of both Continents, and whose Name has spread through all Parts of the habitable World; and he will easily conclude, that in comparison of his great and laudable A&ts, his Vices and Failings are few and trifling, and which, in so prodigious a Run of Prosperity, if they could be avoided, (considering his Repentance and Abhorrence of them afterwards) may easily be over-looked, and are not of Weight sufficient to cast a Shade upon his Reign. For I am persuaded, there was no Nation, City, nor People then in being, whether his Name did not reach; for which Reason, whatever Origine he might boast of, or claim to himself, there seems to me, to have been some Divine Hand presiding both over his Birth and Actions, insomuch, that no mortal upon Earth, either excel'd, or equal'd him; and this seems to have been signify'd by the Prefages at his Death, the Apparitions seen by sundry People in Dreams, as well as waking; the Honours, so near Divine; which were decreed him: And lastly, the Responses of Oracles pronounced, in honour of him, to the *Macedonian* Nation, so long after his Decease. And tho' I take the Freedom in this History of his Actions, sometimes to censure him, yet I cannot but own my self an Admirer of them altogether: I have, however,

however, fix'd a Mark of Reproach upon some of them, as well for the sake of Truth, as the publick Benefit; upon which Account, by the Assistance of Providence, I undertook this Work.

*The End of the Seventh Book,*







# A R R I A N's INDIAN History.



## C H A P. I.

**T**HE Countries which lie Westward from the River *Indus*, as far as the River *Cophenes*, are inhabited by the *Astaceni*, and the *Affaceni*, two Indian Nations. Some Authors write, that those *Indians* are inferior to the others, beyond the River *Indus*; not only in the bulk of their Bodies,

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<sup>1</sup> What *Arrian* hath written here concerning the *Indian* Affairs, is a separate Tract from this History of *Alexander*, and he seems to have contrived it so on purpose, because it would have been too tedious

Bodies, but in Courage: And that they are not altogether so swarthy. They were formerly subject to the *Affyrians*, then to the *Medes*; but when the *Median* Empire was translated to the *Perſians*, they paid Tribute to *Cyrus*, the Son of *Cambyses*. The *Nyſſeans* are not a Nation of *Indians*, but derive their Origine from those *Greeks*, whom *Bacchus* formerly carried into *India*; when ſuch of them as were worn out by Age, or otherwife render'd unserviceable, were left there, as a Colony; perhaps he also invited ſuch of the neighbouring Inhabitants, as would, to help to people his new built City, which he nam'd *Nyſſa*; and the adjacent Country *Nyſſea*; but the Mountain, upon whose Skirts the City is built, he call'd *Meros* (or the Thigh) in allusion to his being concealed in *Jupiter's* Thigh, after the Death of his Mother *Semele*. These are the Fictions of Poets, and all the Writers of fabulous History, as well *Greeks*, as *Barbarians*, have deliver'd the ſame Story. Among the *Affaceni*, is 2 *Maffaca*, a great City, the Capital of that Nation; another of their Cities is 3 *Peucelas*, very large and populous, ſeated not far

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tedious an Episode to have been inserted into the Body of his History. Besides, he has here interspersed long Descriptions of Countries, Rivers, &c. which would have diverted his Readers too much from the main Story, for which Reaſon he has judiciously thrown them here altogether; ſo that this is partly Historical, and partly Geographical, almost after the manner of *Strabo*. And that none of my Readers may doubt but that this is by the ſame Hand, I shall, once for all, affiſe them, that *Arrian* has mentioned his Design of writing ſuch a Treatise twice; the first time at the cloſe of the ſixth Chapter of the fifth Book; and again, at the Conclusion of the ſixteenth Chapter of the ſixth Book of his History of *Alexander's* Expedition.

2 This is mentioned as the Capital City of the *Affaceni*, *lib. iv. cap. 26. 27.* It is there called *Maffaca*. *Strabo* calls it *Magoſa*, or rather, according to a late Correction, *Mosaga*, *lib. xv. pag. 1022. Ed. Cafaub.*

3 The Country, whereof this City is the Capital, is named *Peucolaitis*, by *Strabo*, *pag. 1022.* and he tells us it was here that *Alexander's* Bridge was made for the Paſſage of his Army over the *Indus*.

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from the River *Indus*. They hold all the Country on the West side of the *Indus*, as far as the River *Cophenes*.



## C H A P. II.

THE Country Eastward, from the River *Indus*, is what I call properly *India*, and the Inhabitants thereof *Indians*. <sup>1</sup> *India* is bounded on the North, by Mount *Taurus*; which Mountain retains the same Name, even in that Country: It rises on the Sea Coast, nigh *Pampbylia*, *Lycia*, and *Cilicia*, and extends itself in one continued Ridge, as far as the Oriental Ocean, running quite through all *Asia*. In some Parts, nevertheless, it is called by other Names; for in one Country it is named *Parapamisus*; in another *Emodus*; in a third, *Emaus*; and it is very probable, it has many more, in the various Territories through which it passes. The *Macedonian* Soldiers who accompany'd *Alexander* in his Expedition, call'd it *Caucasus*; whereas *Caucasus* is a Mountain of *Scythia*, widely distant from this; but their Reason was, that they might boast, that *Alexander* had pass'd over Mount *Caucasus*. The River *Indus* terminates *India* Westward, as far as the Ocean, into which it discharges its Water by two vast Mouths, not nigh each other, like the five Mouths of the *Ister*, but rather like those of the *Nile*, which form the *Ægyptian Delta*. This River also forms a *Delta* by its two

<sup>1</sup> This whole Chapter, and the next, are to be found almost Word for Word, towards the beginning of the fifteenth Book of *Strabo's Geography*, pag. 1010, &c. for which Reason 'tis to no purpose to pretend to remark upon it. They both copied from one Author, namely, from *Eratosthenes*, and therefore it is no great Wonder they should agree in one Story.

Mouths, no way inferior to that of *Ægypt*, which, in the *Indian Language*, is call'd *Pattala*. Towards the South, this Country is bounded by the Ocean, which also shuts up the Eastern Parts thereof. The Southern Bounds thereof, with *Pattala*, and the Mouths of the River *Indus*, were thoroughly view'd by *Alexander*, and his Soldiers, as well *Macedonians*, as *Greeks*. But the Eastern Limits, or those beyond the River *Hypbasis*, neither *Alexander*, nor any of his Followers, ever saw. And few Authors have given us an Account what Nations or People inhabit the Countries as far as the River *Ganges*, where the Mouths of that River lie, and where <sup>2</sup> *Palimbotra*, the chief City of the *Indians* upon the *Ganges*, is situate.



### C H A P. III.

**E**RATOSTHENES, the *Cyrenæan*, a grave Author, who has written concerning the Situation and Circuit of *India*, seems to have excell'd all the rest. He tells us, that *India*, from Mount *Taurus*, whence the River *Indus* has its Rise, to the Mouths of that River, and the Ocean, is thirteen Thousand *Stadia*. Another side, namely from the same Mountain, to the Eastern Ocean, he reckons scarce equal to the former; but as a huge Tract of Land runs out four Thousand *Stadia* into the Sea, it may be reckon'd sixteen Thousand *Stadia* that way; and this he calls the Breadth of *India*. The Length thereof, from the westermost Part, to the City *Palimbotra*, he tells us he has measured, along the Road, call'd the King's Road; and that it contains ten Thousand

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<sup>2</sup> *Strabo* calls this City *Palibotra*, pag. 1010, and says, 'tis seated six Thousand *Stadia* from the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, as they who have sailed up that River can testify.

*Stadia*: How far it reaches further, is not well known. However, the common received Opinion of the *Indians*, is, that, with the Promontory, which stretches it self far out into the Sea, it may contain ten Thousand more: so that its whole Length may be deemed twenty Thousand *Stadia*. *Ctesias* of *Cnidos* affirms, that *India* is equal in bigness to all the rest of *Asia*; but he is mistaken; *Onesicritus* reckons it to contain a third Part of *Asia*. *Nearchus* asserts, that the plain Country belonging thereto, extends in length, to four Months Journey. *Magasthenes* makes that side of *India*, from West to East, the breadth, which other Authors call the length; and tells us, that where it is narrowest, it is sixteen Thousand *Stadia* broad: And from North to South, its least length is twenty two Thousand and three Hundred *Stadia*. There are as many Rivers in *India*, as in all *Asia* besides; the chief of which are the *Ganges* and *Indus*, from whence the Country receives its Name; either of these are bigger than the *Nile*, and the *Ister*, if they were both joyn'd in one Stream: Nay, even the *Acesines*, in my Opinion, exceeds the *Nile* and *Ister* in bigness, when it has received the *Hydaspes*, *Hydraotes* and *Hypbasis* into its Channel just before it falls into the *Indus*, for there its breadth is thirty *Stadia*. Many other Rivers which, perhaps, may be larger than these, but unknown to us, may flow through this Country.





## C H A P. IV.

**N**O T H I N G certain is related concerning this Country beyond the River *Hyphasis*, for *Alexander* penetrated no further. Of the two great Rivers of India, the *Ganges* and *Indus*; *Megasthenes* assures us, that the first, is by far the largest, and so do all those who make mention of it; for it arises great from its very Fountains, and receives many vast Rivers.

*1 Curtius's Description of the River Ganges, lib. viii. cap. 9. 5.* is the strangest, and at the same time, the most different from other Authors that can be imagined: As for my part, I own I am not able to make Sense of some part of it, for which Reason I shall give my Readers his own Words, and leave each of them to interpret for themselves. *Ganges annis ab ortu eximius, ad meridianam Regionem decurrit, & magnorum Montium Juga recto alveo stringit. Inde eum objectae Rupes inclinant ad Orientem: utque Rubro mari accipiturn. findens Rupes, multas Arbores, cum magna soli parte exsorbet; saxis quoque impeditus crebro reverberatur. Ubi mollius solum reperit stagnat, insulaque molitur. Acestines eum auget. Ganges decursum in mare intercipit: magnoque motu annis uterque colliditur: quippe Ganges asperum os influenti objicit, nec repercussæ aquæ cedunt.* What can he mean by this River's running over the tops of Mountains, in a direct Course, and afterwards being checked in its Carrer, and turned from the South towards the East by a few paltry Rocks? Sure the Rocks were not higher than the Mountains; if they were, it is no Wonder it should be check'd: If not, it might even run over the Tops of them too, and never stop for the matter. I am not to be told, that some Commentators have strained hard to make Sense of this Passage, and tells us, he meant no more by his *Montium Juga stringens*, than only the several Catarracts of the River, or the declivities it falls from at different times. If he cannot speak Sense, they can do it for him; but it is pity, when they gave him a Meaning, but they had made his Words suitable to it. As they now stand, they neither mean that, nor, in reality, any thing else.— He then tells us, it falls into the *Red Sea*.— That is false; *Arrian* calls it the *Indian Ocean*, and sometimes the foreign Sea (in opposition, perhaps, to the *Mediterranean*) but none beside himself,

vers, namely, *Cainas*, *Erannoobas*, *Coccoanus*, *Sonus*, *Sittoratis*, and *Solomatis*; all these are Navigable; and besides these, *Condockates*, *Sambus*, *Magones*, *Agoranis* and *Omalis*. The *Commenases*, a vast River, and *Cacutbis*, and *Andomatis*, discharge their Streams therein from *Mandiadinae*, a Country in India. The *Amystis* falls therein near the City *Catadupa*; the *Oxymagis* among the *Pazalæ*, and the *Erinenses* among the *Matbæ*, both Indian Nations: *Megasthenes* reckons none of those Rivers less than the *Mæander*, where it is Navigable. The *Ganges*, even where it is narrowest, is one Hundred *Stadia* in breadth; and in many places, where the Current is slow, and the Lands flat on each side, you can scarce see from Shore to Shore. These Rivers discharge their Waters into the *Indus*: The *Hydraotes* among the *Cambistboli*, which receiving the *Hypbaxis* among the *Astrobi*; the *Sarranges* among the *Mecei*, and the *Neudrus* among the *Attaceni*, falls into the *Acesines*. The *Hydaspes* receiving the River *Sinarus*, among the *Arispi*, falls also into the River *Acesines*, in the Country of the *Oxydracæ*. *Tutapus*, a great River, falls into the same, insomuch, that the *Acesines*, vastly encreas'd with all these, and still retaining its Name, loses that, and its Waters, at once, by falling into the *Indus* among the *Malli*. The *Copbs* having receiv'd the Rivers

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self, ever stretched the *Red Sea* to the Mouth of the *Ganges*.—He then proceeds to acquaint us, that “it washes away many Trees, “with a great part of the Soil.”—If a great part of the Soil was washed away in *Curtius*'s time, I suppose it is all gone now, for undoubtedly the River has continued washing ever since, be the Time as long as it will.—Then he informs us, that it receives the River *Acesines* into its Channel—That's false too; all Authors agree, that the *Acesines* falls into the *Indus*; nay, even *Curtius* himself, *lib. ix. cap. 4. 1.* owns as much.—But I am weary with remarking. My Readers may take this for a Taste of his Geography, and see the whole Paragraph, *lib. viii. cap. 9. 5. Edit. Freinshem.*

*Malamantus*, *Soastus*, and *Garæas*, discharges its Waters into the *Indus*, in the Country of *Peucelaistis*. Beyond this, the Rivers *Ptarenus* and *Saparnus* fall thereinto, at no great distance from each other. The *Soamus* also deriving his Course from the Mountainous Parts of *Sabissa*, flows singly into it. And as most of these, according to *Megasthenes*'s Testimony, are Navigable Rivers, it is no Wonder, that the *Ister*, or *Nile*, if their Streams were joyn'd, are no ways comparable to the *Indus*, or *Ganges*. For we know of no particular River which runs into the *Nile*, but we are sure that many large Cannals are drawn from it, through the Country of *Ægypt*. As to the *Ister*, it rises from a small Fountain, and though afterwards it receives many Rivers into its Bosom, yet neither their Number, nor Bigness, are by any means equal to those mighty *Indian* Rivers, which flow into the *Indus* and *Ganges*. Some of them are, indeed, Navigable, but very few: Of those, I have seen the *Henus* and *Saus*; the first falls into it, in the Confines of the *Norici* and *Rhæti*, and the last, among the *Pœonæ*, at a Place call'd *Taurunus*. Some more Navigable Rivers besides these two, may, perhaps, fall into the *Ister*; but I am perswaded they are neither many, nor considerable.



## C H A P. V.

W H O E V E R will enquire into the Reason of the Multitude, and Vastness of the *Indian Rivers*, is at full liberty to pursue that Theme, as far as he pleases. As for me, 'tis sufficient that I copy what I have received from others, concerning them. *Megasthenes* gives us the Names of many other Rivers, which empty themselves into the Southern, and Oriental Ocean, without mixing their Streams with the *Indus*, or *Ganges*, to the Number of fifty eight, all Navigable. But even *Megasthenes* himself, seems to me, not to have travelled over much of *India*, tho' a great deal more than any of *Alexander's* Followers. He tells us, he was at the Court of *Sandracottus*, a mighty King of *India*, and of *Porus*, another, much greater, and more powerful than *Sandracottus*. He also assures us, that the *Indians* neither waged War with other Nations, nor any other Nation with them; and that <sup>1</sup> *Sesostris* the *Egyptian* Monarch, having subdued a great part of *Asia*, and carry'd his victorious Army almost to *Europe*, retired and went back, without attempting

<sup>1</sup> This Expedition of *Sesostris*, King of *Egypt*; as also that of *Indatbyrus*, King of *Scythia*; and *Semiramis*, Queen of *Affryia*, with those of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, are all mentioned by *Strabo*, towards the beginning of the fifteenth Book of his Geography, pag. 1006, 1007. He tells us also, that *Megasthenes*, and some other Authors, gave Credit to the Stories of *Bacchus* and *Hercules's* Actions in *India*; but the far greatest Number, among whom was *Eratosthenes*, deem'd them no more than vain, and incredible Fictions.

any thing against *India*. That *Indatbyrsis*, a King of *Scybia*, making an Eruption out of his own Territories, over-run almost all *Asia*, and conquered *Egypt*, but declined making War against *India*. *Semiramis*, the valiant Queen of *Affyria*, indeed, design'd to have led a gallant Army against them, but Death prevented her. So that none but *Alexander* had undertaken an Expedition against those Countries. 'Tis true, there is a Tradition, that *Bacchus* conquer'd *India*, and that *Hercules* penetrated that far, which is still more uncertain. Concerning *Bacchus*'s Expedition, the City *Nyssa*, and the Mountain *Meros*, are no slight Monuments, and Ivy growing there, and in no place in all *India* besides. The Inhabitants also go forth to War, with Drums beating, and Cymbals playing before them; and wear mottled Garments, after the manner of the *Bacchanals*. But there are not many Monuments of *Hercules*; for the Story of the Rock <sup>2</sup> *Aornus*, which *Hercules* could not win, and *Alexander* took by Storm, seems to be little more than a Fiction of the *Macedonians*, to magnify their General; for they called Mount *Parapamisus*, by the Name of *Caucasus*, tho' it has no Affinity therewith; and a certain <sup>3</sup> Cave, which they found in the side thereof, they denominated the Cave of *Prometheus*, the Son of *Titan*, and affirmed that it was the same wherein he was bound, and punish'd, for his stealing Fire from Heaven. They saw an

<sup>2</sup> This Rock, *Strabo* calls *Aornus*, pag. 1008, and agrees in the whole Story, concerning it, with *Arrian*. *Curtius* gives us this for found Truth, and tells it with a grave Face; but he seldom stumbles at a Lie. I have already given an Account thereof in my *Comment on Arrian*, lib. iv. cap. 28.

<sup>3</sup> When the *Macedonians*, says *Strabo*, lib. xv. pag. 1009. found a Cave in the side of Mount *Parapamisus*, they immediately affirmed that to be the Cave where *Prometheus* was chain'd; that *Hercules* came thither to set him at Liberty; and that was the Mount *Caucasus* where the *Greeks* tell us he was bound. All which, says he, are no more than Fictions of *Alexander's* Sycophants, &c.

Indian Nation call'd 4 *Sibæ*, whose usual Cloathing was the Skins of Beasts, who, for that Reason, they said, were a Colony left there by *Hercules*; and because they were arm'd with Clubs, and marked their Oxen with a Club to distinguish them, they concluded, that this was done in commemoration of the Club of *Hercules*. If any imagine those Stories deserve Credit, he must conclude, that this was not the *Theban*, nor the *Tyrian*, nor the *Ægyptian Hercules*, but some great Kingwhose Dominions lay not far distant from *India*.



## C H A P. VI.

BUT to infist no more on these Stories. Whatever Accounts Authors have pretended to give us of Countries beyond the *Hypbasis*, they seem to me, somewhat fabulous; but what *Alexander's* Followers have written concerning those, on this side that River, deserves a little more Credit. *Megasthenes* tells us of a certain River of *India* named <sup>4</sup> *Silas*, which flows from a Fountain of the same Name, and

<sup>4</sup> The Story of the *Sibæ* (whom *Curtius* calls *Sobii*, and *Dionysius Sabæ*, verf. 1141, *Strabo* has given us conformable to *Arrian*, pag. 1008. and 1009. *Curtius* tells us, "they wore the Skins of Beasts for Cloaths, and Clubs for Weapons of War, and had many other Customs still among them, which shew'd they owed their Origine to the Greeks." See *Curt. lib. ix. cap. 4. 2.* This Fable has been confuted already.

*Strabo*, in his fifteenth Book, pag. 1029. has taken notice of this River for the same Property, but he says, " *Democritus* did not give Credit to it, tho' he travelled over a great part of *Asia*." — I hope he did not go that far, on purpose to prove it a Lie. — "neither did *Aristotle* allow the Probability of it." — Neither do I; and whoever has the least notion of *Hydrostaticks*, must be of the same Opinion.

communicates its Name also to the Country through which it passes, the Water whereof has this Property, that it bears nothing upon its Surface, nor can any thing, how light soever, swim or float thereon, but all Things sink down to the bottom: He also adds, that this Water is much thinner, and more apt to rise in Vapours, than any other. The same Author assures us, that *India* is subject to vast Rains, during the Summer Season, especially those Parts near the Mountains, *Parapamisus*, *Emodus* and *Himaus*; and that many great and turbulent Streams proceed from thence. The flat Country is also often overflowed by Rains in Summer; insomuch, that the River <sup>2</sup> *Acesines*, having at that Season, laid all the adjacent Plains under Water, *Alexander's* Army were forced to decamp from its Banks, and pitch their Tents at a great distance. However, from this, we may give a guess at the like Nature and Properties in the *Nile*, it being very probable that vast Rains fall in the mountainous Country of *Aethiopia* in the Summer Season; and that the *Nile* swelled, and gown inuddy with these Rains, overflows its Banks, and lays the flat Country of *Aegypt* under Water. An annual Inundation may thus happen, tho' no Snows were to fall in the hot County of *Aethiopia*, nor no *Etesian* Winds to blow in the Summer, and hinder the Flux of his Waters into the Sea. That Rains fall in *Aethiopia* as well as in *India*, I can see no Reason to doubt, seeing, in all other respects, *India* so much resembles it. Its Rivers, like the *Aethiopian* and *Aegyptian Nile*, breed Crocodiles, and some of them, all sorts of Fish found in the *Nile*,

<sup>2</sup> We have this same Account from *Strabo*, pag. 1014, only he fathers the Story upon *Nearchus*, with much less Probability; for *Nearchus* was Commander of the Forces on board; and if the overflowing of the River had incommoded them, they ought not to have steer'd their Ships to the tops of the Hills, to keep their bottoms dry, but rather into the middle of the Channel, to keep them from running a ground.

except the River *Horse*; and if *Onesicritus* may be believ'd, even that too. The Natives of <sup>3</sup> India and *Aethiopia*, are not much different in their Features, or Complexion. The Southern *Indians*, like the *Aethiopians*, have black Faces, and black Hair, but are not so Flat-nosed, nor so Curl-pated, as the *Aethiopians*. The Northern *Indians* bear a greater Resemblance in Form, and Feature, to the *Egyptians*.



## C H A P. VII.

<sup>1</sup>THE whole Country of *India* is divided into one Hundred and twenty two several Nations, according to *Megasthenes*; I own the *Indians* are very numerous, and they may have a vast Number of separate Governments among them; but how he came to be so very exact in his Calculation, exceeds my Understanding, seeing he could not travel over much of the Country, because many of the separate States thereof maintain no Commerce with each other. The *Indians* were anciently like the *Scythians*, a wandering Race of Mortals, who tilled no Lands, and hated to be confin'd to any particular

<sup>3</sup> All the remaining part of this Chapter may be seen in *Strabo*, *lib. xv. pag. 1018. 1019*. He has there endeavoured to assign a Reason for the blackness of the *Aethiopians*, or rather to overthrow the Reasons which others had given before his Time; but as this is a Point still undecided among the Learned, we have no business to concern ourselves with it.

<sup>1</sup> This is an Account of the ancient Race of *Indians*, before the supposed arrival of *Bacchus* in that Country; for *Megasthenes* was one of those Authors who believed that *Bacchus* (the Son of *Semele*, the *Theban*) conquered *India*, and built the City *Nyssa*, as has been already shewed; tho' much better Authors have proved it only a Fable, invented by *Alexander's* Followers, to give their Master the Honour of going beyond him.

Place ; they neither built Towns, nor Houses, nor Temples for religious Worship, but cloathed themselves with the Skins of wild Beasts , and eat the Bark, or Rind of certain Trees, called, in their Language, *Tala*, and there grows a Tuft of something upon the tops of them, as upon Palm-Trees, resembling Balls of Cotton. They also fed upon the raw Flesh of such Beasts as they caught , before *Bacchus* entered their Country. But when he had made a Conquest thereof, he built them Cities, gave them Laws, and shew'd them the Use of Wine, as he had done the *Greeks* ; he also brought them Corn, and taught them Agriculture ; so that either *Triptolemus*, when he was dispatch'd by *Ceres* to plant Corn throughout the Earth, reach'd not thus far, or some one, of the Name of *Bacchus*, arriv'd in *India* before him, and distributed Corn among the Inhabitants. *Bacchus* first taught them to yoak their Oxen to the Plow, and brought many of them from their former unsettled Life, to practise Husbandry. He also taught them Military Discipline , and the Worship of the Gods (not forgetting to put himself into the Number) which he order'd them to perform with Drums and Cymbals. He introduc'd the Satyrick Dance among them, which the *Greeks* call *Cardaca*. They suffer their Hair to grow in Honour of *Bacchus* : They wear the Mitre, and use Oyntments, and even to the time of *Alexander*'s entrance among them, they used Drums and Cymbals to excite their Soldiers to Battle.



## C H A P. VIII.

WHEN *Bacchus* had fully settled his Affairs there, and was about to leave the Country, he appointed *Spartembas*, one of his Friends, who was vers'd in the Mysteries of Government, as well as Religion,<sup>1</sup> to rule over *India*: He dying, the Kingdom devolv'd on his Son *Budyas*. *Spartembas* is said to have reign'd fifty two Years, but his Son *Budyas*, not above Twenty, and then to have left his Kingdom to his Son *Cradevas*; and so, for many Ages, the Succession is said to have passed from Father to Son: And if at any time a Father happen'd to die without Children, they then chose one of approv'd Valour, from among themselves, to be his Successor. The *Hercules*, who is reported to have penetrated so far, the *Indians* tell us, was a Native of their Country: He is particularly worship'd by the *Suraseni*, who have two great Cities belonging to them, namely, *Metboras* and *Clisboras*, and the Navigable River *Iobares*, passes through their Territories. This *Hercules*, as *Magastbenes* asserts, and the *Indians* themselves assure us, used the same Habit with the *Theban Hercules*. He took many Wives, and begot a great Number of Sons, tho' but one Daughter, whom he nam'd *Pandaea*, and caus'd

<sup>1</sup> This is an Account of the *Indian* History and Chronology (I cannot, nor dare not say) taken from their own Annals; tho' *Magastbenes*, from whom *Arrian* copied it, undoubtely thought so. My Opinion is, that it was as meer an Invention of some of *Alexander's* Sycophants, as any of the rest. *Arrian* has set a Brand upon it: and *Strabo* has not any where taken notice of it. If either *Bacchus*, or *Hercules* were *Indian* Deities, I should be glad to be informed what Names the *Indians* gave them, for that their present Names are *Greek*, I hope none will question.

the whole Province wherein she was born, and over which she afterwards rul'd, to receive its Name from her. Her Father *Hercules* is said to have put her in Possession of five Hundred Elephants, besides an Army of four Thousand Horse, and about one Hundred and thirty Thousand Foot. Other *Indians* tell this Story of *Hercules*, namely, that when he had travelled through all the Earth, and purg'd it of every Vice, he found a Pearl in the Sea, such as the Merchants at this Day, buy up in *India*, at a great Price, and bring to us ; and such as the *Greeks* heretofore, and the better sort of *Romans*, at this time, purchase at a vast Expence. *Hercules* was so strangely taken with the Lustre of this Pearl, that he commanded such to be sought for throughout all the Coasts of *India*, wherewith to adorn his Daughter. *Megasthenes* writes, that the Shell wherein this Pearl is generated and enclosed, is taken in Netts, and that a vast number of other Shells surround it, like a swarm of Bees, because they have their King or Queen as Bees have ; and if at any time their King happens to be taken by Fishermen, they all suffer themselves to be taken with him ; but if their King escapes, the rest are not easily inclos'd. The *Indians* suffer the Meat, or Flesh, contain'd between these Shells, to putrify but preserve the Pearls for their Use. Some of these Pearls are so much esteem'd by the *Indians*, as to be valued at three times their Weight in Gold, tho' Gold is also the Produce of their Country.





## C H A P. IX.

**I**N these Realms, over which the Daughter of *Hercules* rul'd, the Women are deem'd Marriageable at Seven Years of Age; but the Men, not 'till they arrive at the Age of Forty; and on this they have the following Story, namely, that this Daughter being born to *Hercules*, when he was advanc'd in Years, and imagin'd himself not far from his End; and He not able to find a Spouse worthy of such a Wife, took her to Wife himself, she being then seven Years of Age, that so by a Race between them, he might supply the Throne of *India* with Monarchs. *Hercules* render'd her Marriageable at these Years, for that Purpose, and from that Time annex'd it as a peculiar Priviledge to the whole Realm, over which his Daughter bore Sway, that all their Females should be Marriageable at that Age. My Opinion of the Story is, that if *Hercules* was capable of having an Affair of this kind with his Daughter, and was able to get Children, he must not be so near his End, as they would have us imagine; for if these Stories of theirs, concerning the early Maturity of their Females, deserve any Credit, they seem to bear some Analogy with what is reported of their Men, namely, that the longest liv'd among them, scarce exceed forty Years of Age: Now, the sooner Death seizes them, the sooner they must grow old of course; and if they wax Grey early, they must be in their Prime proportionably: So that by this Rule, Men of thirty Years of Age, may be said to be arriv'd to hoarynes; and at Twenty, to be past their Strength; but at Fifteen, or thereabouts, to be in their Prime; and, according to this Way of Reasoning, their Females ~~might~~ <sup>be</sup> Marriageable in their seventh Year; for the

the same Author assures us, that all sorts of Fruits come sooner to Maturity, and die sooner there, than elsewhere. From *Bacchus* to *Sandracottus*, the *Indian* reckon one Hundred fifty and three Monarchs, who reign'd during the space of six Thousand and forty two Years; in all which time they had only the liberty of being govern'd by their own Laws twice; first for about three hundred Years, and after that, about one hundred and twenty. They reckon *Bacchus* to have liv'd, at least fifteen Ages before *Hercules*, and that none besides ever enter'd their Territories in an hostile Manner, not even *Cyrus*, the Son of *Cambyses*, tho' he wag'd War against the *Scythians*, and perform'd many noble Acts in other Countries. However, they own, that *Alexander* invaded them, and conquer'd all wherever he came, and had certainly overrun their whole Country, if his Army had not refus'd to march further. As for the *Indian* Kings, none of them ever lead an Army out of *India*, to attempt the Conquest of any other Country, lest they should be deem'd guilty of Injustice.

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<sup>1</sup> *Plutarch*, pag. 38. tells us, that *Andracottus* (who I take to be the *Sandracottus* mentioned by *Arrian* and *Strabo*) being then a Youth, saw *Alexander* there, and has been often heard to say, That he mist but little of making himself Master of those Countries, (viz.) of the *Præsians* and *Gandaritans*) their King who then reign'd, being generally hated for the viciousness of his Life, and the meanness of his Extraction. *Curtius* makes *Porus* call him the Son of a Barber. However, I think, of all Mankind, *Porus* ought to have been the last who should have thrown the meanness of his Extraction in his Teeth; for if *Freinbemius* deceives us not, *Porus*'s own Father was of the same Trade. See *Freinbem.* ad *Curt.* lib. ix. cap. 2. 6.





## C H A P. X.

**T**HE Indians allow no Monuments to be rear'd in Honour of their Deceas'd, esteeming their Virtues sufficient to perpetuate their Memory ; for which reason they make Odes, and sing Songs in praise of them. Their Cities are so numerous, as not to be easily reckon'd : Those which are situate near the Sea, or any River, are built with Wood ; for no Buildings of Brick would last long there, not only because of the violence of the Rains, but also of the Rivers, which overflowing their Banks, cause an annual Inundation over all the flat Country. But the Cities which are seated on any Eminence, are frequently built with Brick and Mortar. The Capital City of India is <sup>1</sup> *Palimbotra*, in the Confines of the *Praſi*, nigh the Confluence of the two great Rivers *Erannoobas*

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<sup>1</sup> *Strabo* assures us, p. 1035. that they were no way extravagant in their manner of burying, and observ'd a vast moderation in their Diet, Apparel, and every thing besides.

<sup>2</sup> What Number of Cities are said to be in *India*, I no where find in *Strabo*, only he reckons no fewer than three Hundred in the Dominions of *Porus*, so that we may guess the Country was very populous. *Strabo lib. xv. pag. 1028.* takes notice of *Palimbotra* (which he call's *Palibotra*) seated on the *Ganges*, and another River which he names not. He adds, "that its length is eighty *Stadia*, its breadth fifteen, its form Oblong. That it is environ'd with a Wall of Wood, in which are sundry holes to shoot through. They have also a Ditch for the defence of the City, and the reception of all the Filth issuing from thence; as also, that the Nation among whom this City is seated, are called *Praſi*."— It is a pity but *Strabo* had told what breadth the Ditch was of; for as to *Arrian's* (*Ἀρριανὸς*) fix Acres here, I do not understand them; and his wise Commentators, whose principal Care ought to have been to have corrected the Errors of one Manuscript by another, and set such Passages in a true Light, have not taken any notice of it.

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and *Ganges*. *Erannoboas* is reckon'd the third River throughout all *India*, and is inferior to none but the *Indus* and *Ganges*, into the last of which it discharges its Waters. *Megasthenes* assures us, that the length of this City is eighty Furlongs, the breadth fifteen; that it is surrounded with a Ditch which takes up six Acres of Ground, and is thirty Cubits deep; that the Walls are adorn'd with five Hundred and seventy Towers, and sixty four Gates. All the *Indians* are free, they having no Slaves among them; and in this they resemble the *Lacedaemonians*, among whom the *Helots* only are Slaves, and perform servile Offices; but the *Indians* are neither Slaves themselves, nor suffer any others to be Slaves in their Country. They are chiefly distinguish'd into 3 seven Ranks or Classes, among themselves: One of which is their Sophists, or wise Men; these are much inferior to all the rest in Numbers, but vastly superior to them in Honour and Dignity.

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3 This distribution of the *Indians* into seven Classes or Orders, is mentioned by *Strabo* in his fifteenth Book, pag. 1029. He is very full and copious upon the Subject, and adds, "that if any of the Sophists continues to give true Predictions, he is deem'd free, and exempted from Tribute all his Life after.





## C H A P. XI.

THEY are never requir'd to do any bodily Labour; nor do they contribute any thing out of their Gains, towards the Support of the Publick; nor indeed, to be brief, have they any manner of occasion to work at all; their only Busines being to offer Sacrifices for the publick Welfare: And if any Person sacrifices privately, some of these Sophists is employ'd to shew him the Way and Manner thereof, otherwise they imagine the Gods would not accept his Sacrifice. They are, moreover, the only Diviners throughout all *India*; neither are any suffer'd to practise the Art of Divination, except themselves. They usually make their Predictions concerning the Seasons of the Year, and if any publick Calamity approach, they are to foretel it. They never meddle with private Affairs, either because they think that the Art of Divination extends not to inferior Things, or, perhaps, because they deem it beneath their Art, to stoop to Trifles. Whoever among them errs three times, by giving out false Predictions, no Corporeal Punishment is inflicted on him, only he is ever after doom'd to Silence. And none dares presume to consult any Sophist on whom such a Sentence has once passed. These Sages go naked: In Winter they bask in the Sunshine, but during the Summer, while the Sun is hot, they retire to the Meadows, and marshy Places, where they lie under the covert of Trees; some of which are of such excessive bigness, that *Nearchus* assures us, one Tree will over-shadow at least <sup>1</sup> five Acres of Ground,

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<sup>1</sup> These Trees are described by many of the Ancients, as well as our Modern Travellers and Voyage-Writers, *Strabo*, pag. 1016, 1017.

Ground, and skreen an Army of ten Thousand Soldiers from the Sun Beams. They feed on ripe Fruits, and Rinds of Trees, at certain Seasons of the Year, which are both pleasant to the Taste, and afford good Nourishment, as Dates, Figs, and many others. The second Class of Men among the *Indians*, is their Husbandmen, of whom they have great Numbers: These, neither bear Arms, nor ever go out to War upon any Emergency of State whatsoever; they only Till the Ground, and pay Tribute to the King, and some free Cities. Moreover, if any intestine War happens to break forth among the *Indians*, 'tis deemed a heinous Crime, either to seize the Husbandmen, or to spoil their Harvest. All the rest wage War against each other, and kill and slay as they think convenient, while they live quietly and peaceably among them, and employ themselves at their rural Affairs, either in their Fields, or Vineyards. The third Class of *Indians*, is their Shepherds, whose Employment is either to feed Sheep or Oxen, these neither dwell in Cities nor Villages, but live here and there upon the Mountains, and pay an annual Tribute out of their Flocks; they also spend some of their Time, in catching Birds, and hunting wild Beasts.

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1017. tell us, " That in the Souther most Parts of *India*, are certain huge Trees, whose Boughs having grown up to twelve Cubits in height, bend down again so low, as to touch the Earth, and taking Root, re-ascend into new Branches, which taking Root again, like the former, proceed in the same manner, 'till one Tree becomes a Shelter from the Sun Beams, and appears like a Building supported with a multitude of Columns." — *Curtius* describes them *lib. ix. cap. 1. 10.* The same does *Pliny* and *Theophrastus*. I remember to have seen the Figure of one of these Trees in *Rutgerius's* small Edition of *Horace*, and, if I mistake not, another in *Legua's* Voyages. It is called by our modern Travellers, The Indian Fig-Tree.

## C H A P. XII.

THE fourth Class of Men among the *Indians*, is their Artificers and Tradesmen ; these pay a Tribute out of their Gains, except such as are employ'd to make Weapons for War, for they are paid by the Publick : Of this sort are all Ship-Carpenters, and Sailors, who sail upon their Rivers. The fifth Class among them, is their Soldiers ; they are more numerous than any of the rest, except the Husbandmen, and live free and jovial Lives. They wholly bend their Minds to military Affairs. Others prepare them Arms, provide them Horses, and wait upon them, in the Camp. They have also those who tend upon their Horses, clean their Arms, govern their Elephants, and drive their military Chariots. During the time of War, they are oblig'd to serve their Country in the Camp ; but in time of Peace, they live merrily and pleasantly, and have as much Stipend allow'd them from the Publick, as is sufficient to maintain them, and all their Dependants. The sixth Class is their Supervisors or Inquisitors : These inquire into all Transactions as well in the Cities, as in the Fields, and give an Account thereof to their Kings, if they live under a Regal Government, or to their chief Magistrate, if in a free City. They may not be guilty of Falshood, and indeed none of the *Indians* were ever accused of that Crime. The seventh and last Rank among them, is composed of those who are appointed to consult about publick Affairs ; and these are either Ministers of State, under some King, or have the Administration of Affairs of some free City, chiefly devolv'd upon them. These are few in Number, but in Wisdom and Justice they are said to excel the rest. Out of this Class are chosen the Magistrates of

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Cities,

Cities, and Presidents of Provinces, their Legislators, Generals of Armies, Commanders of Fleets, and all the Overseers of rural Affairs. It is deem'd unlawful for any of these Ranks or Orders of Men to marry a Wife out of his own Class; for Example, a Husbandman may not marry the Daughter of an Artificer, and so of the rest. None among them are suffer'd to exercise two distinct Trades, nor to leave off one, and take up another; that is, he may not leave off Husbandry, and turn Shepherd, nor leave off keeping Sheep, and become an Artificer. Only a Sophist is allow'd to exercise what Employment he pleases; but then their Lives are not easy, but vastly laborious.

### C H A P. XIII.

THE Indians hunt all sorts of wild Beasts, in the same manner as the Greeks; only their hunting the Elephant is as much different from any of their other Sports, as the Beast it self is from others. The Hunters first of all choose out a plain and open Space, large enough wherein to draw up an Army, this, they surround with a Ditch five Cubits in breadth, and four in depth; the Earth, which they throw out of the Ditch, they pile up on each Bank thereof in form of a Rampart, and it serves instead of a Wall to defend them: Then, on the outward Bank

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<sup>1</sup> *Strabo* has given us a very exact Description of the Manner of hunting Elephants, in the fifteenth Book of his Geography, pag. 1030. 1031. but he differs so little from *Arrian*, that I am of Opinion he has abridged, and *Arrian* copied from the same Author; I shall therefore refer my Readers to him for satisfaction.

Of the Ditch, they dig Caves for themselves, instead of Houses, leaving small holes in the sides, as well for the admission of Light, as that through them they may see when the Elephants approach, and enter the Place which they have inclos'd; and that they may entice them the sooner thither, they place three or four tame Female Elephants within the Inclosure: One Passage is only left, by a Bridge laid over the Ditch, which they cover with green Turf, lest their Craft should be discover'd by the wild Beasts. The Hunters, in the meantime, lie close in the little Caves, they have dug for themselves. The wild Elephants stir not out of the Forests by Day-light, but as soon as Night comes on, they wander out by droves, in search for Food, and follow the Stoutest and most Courageous among them, as their Captain, in the same manner as Cows or Oxen are seen to follow a Bull. When they come nigh the inclosed Place, they hear the Noise of the Female Elephants, and discerning them by the scent, immediately fly towards them, and going round the Banks of the Ditch, arrive at the Bridge, and enter the Inclosure. The Hunters no sooner see them entered, than they haste from their Caverns, or Hiding-places, and some of them take away the Bridge, others going to all the Neighbouring Villages, tell the Inhabitants that the wild Elephants are inclosed; whereupon the Peasants immediately mount their best and tamest Elephants, and haste thither: However, they do not venture to engage in Fight against the wild Ones, 'till they have been, for some time, pinch'd with Hunger and Thirst; but when they perceive them grown weak and languid, they again lay down the Bridge, and enter the Inclosure. At their first entrance, a sharp Encounter usually happens between the tame and the wild Elephants; but after a while, the wild Ones, half dead with Hunger and Thirst before, are overcome. Then the Governors of the tame Ones, alighting upon the Ground, bind a Rope

round their Legs, and order their tame Ones to beat them 'till they be so weary, as to lie down: Then they bind a Cord round their Neck, and climb upon them as they lie on the Ground. And that they may learn them to endure all sorts of Usage afterwards, without offering to resist, they cut their Necks round about with a sharp Knife or Dagger, and tie the Rope fast into the Wound, by which means the Pain grows so excessive, that they can neither turn their Heads towards one side nor the other. But if they still remain ungovernable, the Cord is mov'd too and fro, in the Wound, and the Pain vastly increased. Thus, at last, owning themselves over-power'd, they suffer themselves to be led whithersoever their Masters, with the tame Ones, please.



## C H A P. XIV.

**I**F any happen to come into the inclosed Ground, either too young, or otherwise unfit for Service, they are suffered to depart, and return to the Woods unmolested: The rest, as soon as taken, and over-power'd, are led into the Villages, and fed at first with Gras, and green Corn; but if by reason of Pain, or excessive Weariness, they continue sullen, and refuse to eat, the *Indians*, who attend them, cheer them up with Songs, and encourage them with the Sound of Drums and Cymbals. \* For if any Beast may be

\* All this whole Chapter we have almost Word for Word in *Strab.* pag. 1030, &c. except that particular Paragraph of the Elephants beating upon two Cymbals, and that we may venture to take upon *Arrian's Authority*, he being an Eye-witness thereto. The extraordinary docility of this Animal all Historians testify; and I doubt not but Thousands, now in *England*, have seen an Elephant perform Things full as strange and surprizing.

said to be intelligent, surely the Elephant is: For some of them, when their Governours have been kill'd in Battle, have born them away to Burial upon their Trunks, through the midst of their Enemies. <sup>2</sup> Others, when their Masters have been dismounted, and thrown upon the Ground, have defended them from their Enemies; and some have endanger'd their own Lives to save those of their Governours. I have heard a Story of one in particular, who having in a Rage slain his Keeper, was afterwards so much grieved, that he pin'd away with Hunger. I my self have seen an Elephant beat upon a Cymbal, whilst several others danc'd to his Musick, two Cymbals were hung between his Fore-legs, and one ty'd to his *Proboscis*, or Trunk: He then striking the Cymbal which was ty'd to his Trunk, against the others between his Fore-legs, alternately; the rest of the Elephants mov'd round him, as in a Dance, and lifted up, or bow'd their Bodies as fitly and justly, as the Measure and Reason of the Sound seem'd to require, or as he who play'd upon the Instruments directed. The Female Elephant couples with the Male in the Spring, in the same manner as the Cow, or Mare, at which time certain Veins, near her Temples, are said to burst, and smell strong. She carries her Young sixteen Months, or at most Eighteen, and brings forth one at a time, like a Mare, which she suckles, 'till it be seven or eight Years old. Some Elephants are

<sup>2</sup> It has undoubtedly been from some Story like this, that *Curtius* has borrowed his, concerning *Porus's* Elephant. However I should never have found fault with him, as to that Article, had he not made *Porus* slde off from him, (after he had told us before) he had allighted, and was rallying his Foot; and the poor Beast run at his Enemies, and strive to rescue his Master, after he had fainted and fallen down, ten or a dozen Lines before. See *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 14. 40. *Plutarch*, p. 37. and 38. tells a Story of this Elephant, still more incredible (*viz.*) that he kneeled down to prevent his Master's falling off, and then with his *Proboscis*, or Trunk, gently drew every Dart out of his Body, *Credat Judæus Apella, non ego.*

faid to live 3 two Hundred Years, though most of them are cut off by Diseases before they come to that Age ; but if they die by meer old Age, it is usually about these Years. Cows-Milk is used as a speedy Remedy for the Sorenes of their Eyes ; and Red Wine taken inwardly, is good for the rest of their Distempers. The *Indians* cure their Wounds with Hogs Flesh broil'd, and rub'd upon the Place.



## C H A P. XV.

THE Natives of *India* esteem the <sup>1</sup> Tiger a much fiercer Beast than the Elephant. *Nearcbus* tells us, he saw the Skin of one, but never the Beast it self ; but the Inhabitants assur'd him that they were of the size of a large, full-grown Horse, and of such Strength and Swiftnes as to exceed all other wild Beasts in both. When they attack the Elephant, they leap furiously upon his Head, and easily strangle him. Those which we saw, and call by the name of Tigers, are no other than a kind of speckled Wolves, only they are much larger than the ordinary sort. The same Author tells us a Story of the Ants of that Coun-

<sup>3</sup> Most Authors are full of Stories concerning Elephants (*viz.*) *Pliny*, *Pbilostratus*, *Plutarch*, *Aelian*, &c. *Onescritus*, as quoted by *Strabo*, pag. 1031. afferts, that Elephants commonly live to three hundred Years of Age, and some, tho' few, to four Hundred ; but that they are at their full Strength about two Hundred, and begin to breed about Ten. However, I fancy *Strabo* himself did not think this Account very probable ; for he tells us a little before, that their Lives are equal to the longest liv'd Men, and some of them are said to have reach'd to two hundred Years of Age, but then they fall into Diseases which are incurable.

*Strabo* tells us from *Megasthenes*, pag. 1028. that the Tigers in the Country of the *Præsians*, are twice as big as Lyons, and of such Strength, that one of the tame Ones which was led by four Men, caught a Mule by the Hind-leg, and drew it to him by force.

try, tho' he owns he never saw any of the *Indian* breed; however, he view'd several of their Skins, which were brought by the *Macedonian* Soldiers into *Alexander's Camp*, and *Megasthenes* assures us, that what is commonly reported and written concerning those <sup>2</sup> Ants, is undoubted Truth, namely, that they dig Gold out of the Earth, not for the sake of the Metal, but in preparing Holes wherein to shelter themselves under Ground, for they throw the Earth up in the same manner, as the small Ants in our Countries, only in much greater Quantity; for these *Indian* Ants are bigger than our Foxes, and by making their Burrows of a depth, proportionable to their Bulk, they throw up the Earth, wherein the Oar is contain'd, from which the *Indians* extract pure Gold. This Story of the Ants *Megasthenes* only gives us upon the Credit of others, andas I can advance nothing of certainty concerning them, I shall say no more about them. *Nearcibus* tells us of Parrots bred in *India*, as a great Rarity there, and takes much Pains to describe the several Qualities of that Bird, particularly his imitating Mens Words. But as I have seen many of those my self, and know them to be common enough, I shall forbear speaking of them as a Rarity; neither shall I add any thing of the vast

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<sup>2</sup> *Strabo* has been somewhat more particular in this Story, tho' perhaps he believed as little of it as *Arrian*. He tells us, from *Megasthenes*, pag. 1032. that " among the *Derde*, a great Nation in *India*, " is a Hill of three Furlongs in Circuit, under which are Gold- " Mines, which the Ants dig: They are as big as our Foxes, and " live by Prey. They throw up the Earth in the Winter Season, " like Moles, and the Gold mix'd with the Earth, wants little re- " fining. The *Indians* come with Beasts of Burthen, and take a- " way this Earth privately, for publickly they dare not, because of " the Ants, which not only fight desperately, but pursue those " who fly, and slay both them and their Beasts; to prevent which, " they strow the Flesh of wild Beasts, here and there, to divert " the Creatures from their Purfuit, while they bear the Prize away; " and as the Inhabitants thereabouts have not the Art of refining it, " they sell it to Merchants as they find it.

Size of their 3 Apes there, their exceeding Beauty, or the manner of taking them: These are all too well known to bear a Description; and nothing, except an account of their Beauty can be now worth relating. The same Author assures us, that speckled Snakes are found, there of a wonderful Size and Swiftness, and that *Python*, the Son of *Antigenes*, took one fifteen Cubits long, tho' the Natives told him they had many in their Country, much larger. The *Grecian* Physicians found no Remedy against the bite of these Snakes; but the *Indians* cured those who happened to fall under that Misfortune; for which Reason *Nearchus* tells us, *Alexander* having all the most skilful *Indians* about his Person, caused Proclamation to be made throughout the Camp, that whoever was bit by one of these Snakes, should forthwith repair to the Royal Pavillion for Cure. These Physicians also cure other Diseases; but as they have a very temperate Clime the Inhabitans are not subject to many. However, if any among them feel themselves much indisposed, they apply themselves to their Sophists, who by wonderful, and even more than human Means, cure, whatever will admit of it.

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3 *Strabo*, notwithstanding he is a grave Author, gives us a very merry Story about some Apes upon the Mountain *Emodus*, nigh the place where *Alexander*'s Soldiers were employ'd in cutting down Wood for the Navy. "In that Wood, says he, p. 1023. there is said to be such a Number of huge Apes, that when the *Macedonians* beheld Multitudes of them, on some adjacent Hills, drawn up, as in Order of Battle (for that Animal approaches pretty near to human Knowledge as well as Elephants) they imagin'd it to be a Camp, and march'd against them, as against an Enemy; but being undeceiv'd by *Taxiles*, who was then with *Alexander*, and understanding the Truth of the Matter, that Expedition was countermanded." — He gives us no manner of satisfaction concerning their Arms, Accoutrements, Cloaths, Officers, or martial Discipline, he tells it as a Story, without naming his Author, and I give it my Readers as I have it, without pretending to vouch for the Truth thereof.

## C H A P. XVI.

THE *Indians* wear linnen Garments, the Substance whereof they are made, growing upon Trees, which I have already described ; and this is, indeed Flax, or rather something much whiter and finer than Flax, if the swarthines of their Bodies deceives us not, and makes us believe it whiter than it is. They wear Shirts of the same, which reach down to the middle of their Legs ; and Veils, which cover their Head, and a great part of their Shoulders. The richer sort of *Indians* wear Ear-rings of Ivory, but as for the common People they are not allow'd to wear any. *Nearcbus* informs us, that the *Indians* daub their Beards with several sorts of Colours, in-

<sup>1</sup> These Trees are undoubtedly the *Tala*, which he mentions Chap. 7. *Strabo* agrees with him in his Description of the dress of the *Indians*, as may be seen in his Geography, *lib. xv. pag. 1035.* *Curtius*, *lib. viii. cap. 9. 21.* tells us, "they cover their Bodies with linnen Garments down to their Ancles ; they wear Sandals upon their Feet, Turbans upon their Heads, and Ear-rings, adorn'd with precious Stones, in their Ears." — This is contradicted by *Arrian*, who is every where much more exact in Particulars ; for he assures us, that the richer Sort wear only Ear-rings of Ivory, and as for the Poorer, they wear no Ear-rings at all.

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* tells us they never Shave, *lib. viii. cap. 9. 22.* — I wonder then how King *Agramme's* Father got his Livelyhood, for that same Author, *lib. ix. cap. 2. 6.* assures us he was a Barber. — If so, I suppose the poor Man broke, and was forced to leave off his Busines ; and his Son turn'd Monarch to keep himself from starving. — *Salinus* acquaints us, that they wear their Hair very long, and daub it of a blew, or sky-colour. *Diodorus lib. iv. 5.* assures us, they nourish their Beards during their whole Lives, and that they received this Custom from *Bacchus*, whom they call'd the bearded Deity. *Strabo, lib. xv. pag. 1024.* says, "they suffer their Hair and Beards to grow without cutting, and dye them of various Colours by way of Ornament."

somuch,

somuch, that some of them appear white, others black, some red, some purple, and others green. Those who are of any considerable Account among them, have Umbrella's carried over their Heads, in Summer. Their Shoes are made of white Leather. curiously stitch'd together, and those who desire to appear tall, have their Soles thick, and made up of several Colours. Their Soldiery are not all arm'd in the same manner: Their Foot Forces usually carry a Bow, of the same length with the Bearer, which they lay on the Ground, and place their left Foot thereon to bend it, by which means they draw the String far back. Their 3 Arrows are little les than three Cubits long, and go with such a force, that no Shield nor Breastplate, nor any piece of Armour is so firm, as to withstand them. Upon their left Arm they bear something resembling the *Pelta*, made up of raw Hides, a little narrower than their Bodies, but very near as long. Some of them use Darts instead of Arrows. All wear Swords of a vast breadth, tho' scarce exceeding three Cubits in length. Those, when they engage in close Fight (which is very seldom, especially among one another) they grasp with both their Hands, that the blow may be the stronger. Their Horsemen carry each two Darts, short and narrow, like small Spits; their *Pelta*, or Shields are less than those of the Foot Soldiers. They have neither Saddles nor Bridles for their Horses, like those the *Græ-*

3 " Their Arrows, says *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 9. 28. are about two Cubits long, which they often shoot to little purpose, for they are too heavy to fly far, or do much Execution." — This is directly contrary to *Arrian*. *Suidas* tells us, the *Arabians* use Arrows as long as they are tall, and bend not their Bows with their Hands, but their Feet. And *Strabo*, lib. xv. assures us, " that their Arms are a Bow with Arrows. of three Cubits long, a Spear, a Shield, or *Pelta*, and a broad Sword of three Cubits in length. He adds, that they use a sort of Halters instead of Bridles for their Horses, which are furnished with something resembling our Bits."

ians, or *Celtæ* make use of; but instead of Bridles, they bind a piece of raw Bullock's Hide round the lower-part of their Horse's Jaws, to the inner-part of which the meaner Sort fix Spikes of Brass or Iron, not very sharp; but the richer Ones have theirs of Ivory. Within the Horse's Mouth is a piece of Iron like a Dart, to which the Reins are fasten'd: When therefore they draw the Reins, the Bit stops the Horse, and the short Spikes thereto fix'd, make him subservient to the Rider's Will.



## C H A P. XVII.

THE Indians are most commonly tall, slender, well-proportion'd, and much lighter and nimbler than most other Nations. They ride chiefly on Camels, Horses, or Asses, and only the richer Sort are mounted on Elephants. It is esteemed the highest Honour among them to ride upon an Elephant; the next, to be carried in a Chariot, drawn by four Horses; the third to be mounted on the back of a Camel; but to be seen on Horseback, is so common, as rather to be deem'd a Disgrace. <sup>1</sup> The Women among them, however Chaste, and who will suffer themselves to be deflower'd for no other Gift, will easily condescend, when an Elephant is promis'd as the Purchase. Neither is it deem'd a whit disgrace-

<sup>1</sup> This is confirmed by *Strabo*, lib. xv. pag. 1032. for he tells us, "that the Woman, who has received an Elephant from her Lover, accustoms him to the Yoak, and teaches him to draw."

ful for a Woman to prostitute her Body, to any one, for the sake of an Elephant; on the contrary, the Women think it an Honour to have their Beauty valued at so high a Rate. They Marry without either giving, or receiving any Portion: But as many of their young Women as they deem Marriageable, are brought forth by their Parents, into a publick Place, where he, who wins the Prize, at Wrestling, Boxing, or Running, or any other proposed Exercise, chooses her for a Wife, who pleases him best. Many of the *Indians* employ themselves in Husbandry, and eat Bread, especially those who inhabit the Plains. The Mountaineers live mostly upon the Flesh, which they get by Hunting. These Things I thought convenient to write, concerning the Manners and Customs of the *Indians*, wherein I have chiefly followed *Nearchus* and *Megasthenes*, two famous and well-approv'd Authors; for as it was not my chief Design, exactly to describe their Laws, or Institutes, in this Work, but rather how *Alexander's* Fleet was convey'd thence into *Persia*, I shall, from this time, be silent upon that Subject,



## C H A P. XVIII.

ALEXANDER having now made ready a Fleet, on the Banks of the River *Hydaspes*, mann'd it with all the *Pbænicians*, *Cyprians* and *Ægyptians*, which he found in his Camp, choosing the Sailors and Rowers, out of such as he knew to be expert in Sea-Affairs. There were also in his Army, great Numbers of Islanders, well vers'd in these Matters, as well as *Ionians*, and those bordering upon

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius*, towards the Conclusion of the third Chapter of the Ninth Book, tells us, that this Fleet was built upon the Banks of the River *Acesines*; which is contrary to the best Authors; and even *Freinshemius* can bring him off no otherwise, than by assuring us, that he ought to have brought *Alexander* back to the *Hydaspes*, instead of leaving him to sail down the *Acesines*. However, he has copied *Diodorus*, lib. xvii. pag. 563. and *Justin*, lib. xii. cap. 9. has fallen into the same Error. And that it is an Error, *Strabo*, in his fifteenth Book, pag. 1023. has put out of doubt, by nominating the very Place upon the *Hydaspes*, where this Fleet was built. "There was a Wood, says he, nigh the Mountain *Emodus*, from whence *Alexander* cut down much Pine, and Fir, and Cedar, and sundry other sorts of Timber, which he convey'd down the *Hydaspes*, wherewith he built a Fleet, nigh the Cities which he had reared on each side that River, where he vanquish'd *Porus*, and his Horse *Bucephalus* dy'd." And as a further Confirmation thereof, he tells us, a little before, "that when *Alexander* had passed the *Hydaspes*, and overcome *Porus*, he hastened Eastward to the River *Hypbates*, but the Oracles dissuading him from passing that River, and his Soldiers being fatigued, he return'd again to the *Hydaspes*, and that it rain'd all that while. However, when they had finish'd their Navy there, they set sail down the Stream, a little before the setting of the *Pleiades*."— Hence it is manifest, that *Curtius* has been misled; not only about the beginning of this Voyage, but the place of *Cænus*'s Death; and that *Arrian*'s Account of the two new built Cities being damag'd by the overflows of the River, is highly probable.

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the *Hellespont*; he therefore constituted these, 2 Captains of his Ships, (viz.) *Hephaestion*, the Son of *Amynor*; 3 *Leonnatus*, the Son of *Eunus*; *Lysimachus*, the Son of *Agatocles*; *Asclepiodorus*, the Son of *Ti-mander*; *Archon*, the Son of *Clinias*; *Demonicus*, the Son of *Abenaeus*; *Archias*, the Son of *Anaxidotus*; *Opbellas*, the Son of *Silemus*, these were *Pellæans*. From *Ampipolis*, *Nearchus*, the *Cretan*, the Son of *Androtimus*, Author of the Account of the Voyage; *Lampedon*, the Son of *Laricbus*; *Androsthenes*, the Son of *Callistratus*. From *Orestis*, *Craterus*, the Son of *Alexander*; and *Perdiccas*, the Son of *Orontes*. From *Eordæum*, *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*; and *Aristonous*, the Son of *Pisæus*. From *Pydna*, *Metron*, the Son of *Epicarmus*, and *Nicharchides*, the Son of *Simus*; besides *Attalus*, the Son of *Andromenes*, the *Stympbæan*, and *Pæucestas*, the Son of *Alexander*, the *Miezean*; *Pitbon*, the Son of *Crateas*, the *Alco-menean*; *Leonnatus*, the Son of *Antipater*, the *Ægean*; *Pantauchus*, the Son of *Nicolaus the Alorite*, and *Mylleas*, the Son of *Zoilus*, the *Berræan*; these were *Macedonians*. 4 *Medius*, the Son of *Oryntibemis*,

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2 If these were made Captains of particular Ships, it was little more than a Badge of Honour, for many of them went not on board. *Hephaestion* accompanied *Alexander* home by Land. *Leonnatus* overcame the *Orta*. *Craterus* convey'd a part of the Army into *Carmania* by Land, and there met *Alexander*; and we read of *Eumenes* and *Ibaas*, and some others, who never entered upon the Voyage.

3 This *Leonnatus* is mentioned by *Arrian*, lib. iii. cap. 5. as the Son of *Onasus*; and lib. vi. cap. 28. as the Son of *Anteus*; and in this place as the Son of *Eunus*. What is the cause of this difference, I cannot tell. However, I am persuaded it was still the same Person, because he is called one of the King's Body-Guards, in each place; and tho' there was another *Leonnatus*, the Son of *Antipater*, he never was honoured with that Post. *Blanckard* fancies it only to be a fault of Transcribers, and that *Anteus* is the true reading, and I am of his Opinion.

4 This is the *Medius* who was afterwards so great a Favourite, and at whose House *Alexander* sat up drinking, 'till he threw himself into a Fever, which occasioned his Death.

of *Larissa*; *Eumenes*, the Son of *Hieronymus* of *Cardia*; *Critobulus*, the Son of *Plato*, of *Cous*; *Thoas*, the Son of *Menodorus*, and *Mezander*, the Son of *Mandrogenes*, of *Magnesium*; *Andron*, the Son of *Cabeleus*, of *Teia*; these were *Greeks*. *Niccolae*, the Son of *Pasicles*, of *Soli*, and *Nitbadon*, the Son of *Pnytagoras*, of *Salamis*; these were *Crætans*. One *Persian* was made Captain of a *Trireme*, *Magoas*, the Son of *Pbarnucbis*; *Onescritus*, of *Astyphalea*, was Governor of the Royal Galley. *Evagoras*, the Son of *Eucleon*, the *Corintbian*, Secretary to the whole Fleet. *Nearckus*, the Son of *Androtimus*, was Admiral, or Commander in Chief. This *Nearckus* was, by Birth, a *Cretan*, but dwelt at *Amphipolis*, a City seated on the Banks of the River *Strymon*. All Things thus in Readiness, *Alexander* offered Sacrifices to the Gods of his Country, and to such others as the *Augurs* directed him; as also to *Neptune* and *Amphitrite*, the *Nereids*, and the *Ocean*, to the River *Hydaspes*, from whence he set sail, to *Acesines*, into which the *Hydaspes* flows, and to the River *Indus*, into which they both discharge their Waters. He also exhibited solemn Exercises of Musick and Wrestling, and distributed the Flesh of the Victims throughout all his Army, according to their Troops and Squadrons.



## C H A P. XIX.

ALL Things being then prepar'd for a Voyage, he order'd *Craterus* to march with some of his Forces, as well Horse as Foot, on one Bank of the River *Hydaspes*, whilst *Hephæstion* with the far greater part, besides two Hundred Elephants, marched on the other Bank over-against them. He himself led those called the Targeteers, and all the Archers, and Auxiliary Horse, to the Number of about eight Thousand. He moreover commanded *Craterus* and *Hephæstion* to march before the Fleet, and wait for its arrival at a place appointed. He also dispatch'd *Philip*, whom he had made Governour over that Country, to the River *Acesines*, with some of the Forces under his Command. For he had now an Army of one Hundred and twenty Thousand Soldiers, reckoning those whom he hired from the Maritime Places. Soon after arriv'd those Officers whom he had sent on board to raise Recruits, and brought a vast Number of *Barbarians* out of all the Nations round them, arm'd with various sorts of Weapons. He, in the mean time, sailing down the *Hydaspes*, proceeded to the Place where that River falls into the *Acesines*. His Fleet was composed of about eight Hundred Vessels of all sorts; some of which were long Ships, or Ships built on purpose for War. Some Ships of Burthen for carrying Provisions for the Army, and others for carrying Horses. But how this Fleet pass'd down these Rivers, how many Nations they subdued, in that Passage, what Danger

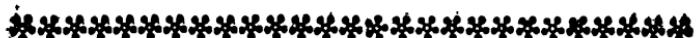
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1 This is related before by *Arrian*, lib. vi. cap. 2.

2 This is told by *Arrian* already, lib. vi. cap. 4.

*Alexander*

*Alexander* expos'd himself to among the *Malli*, and how he was wounded, and preserv'd from Death there, by *Peucestas* and *Leonnatus*, are particulars already fully related in the foregoing Work, which I have written in the *Attick Dialect*. It only remains therefore, that I here give an Account how *Nearchus*, after he had got clear of both the Mouths of the River *Indus*, sailed through the Ocean, as far as the *Persian Gulph*, which some call the *Red Sea*.



## C H A P. XX.

**N**EARCHUS assures us, that *Alexander* had a vast Ambition of sailing all through the Sea, from *India* to *Perſia*, but was deterred by the length and danger of the Voyage; and besides, he was afraid that his Fleet, falling upon ſome Desert Shore, or putting into ſome dangerous Creek, might be lost, and the Army on board, perish for want of Provisions, which would be a vast Blot upon his former Actions, and ſerve to ſully all the Glory of his other Exploits. However, after a while, the prodigious Desire he entertain'd, of attempting ſomething ſurprizingly great, and uncommon, overcame theſe Scruples. His next Doubt was, where to find one able and willing to execute this Project, and to allay the Fears of thoſe who were to undertake this tedious Voyage, and thought themſelves neglected, and expos'd to manifest and unnecessary Danger. *Nearchus* tells us, that *Alexander* communicated his Thoughts to him, and ask'd his Advice, whorn he ſhould chouſe Admiral of this Expedition; and when ſeveral were proposed, and ſome refus'd the Command, for fear of miſcarrying therein; ſome out of downright Cowardice, and others out of a longing Desire they had to return Home; the King upbraided

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them

them one after another, with an account of the Favours he had already bestow'd upon them. At last, when none were found hardy enough for so dangerous a Task, *Nearchus* promis'd to undertake it, and address'd himself to his Sovereign in Words to this purpose : " I, O King, will undertake the Charge of the Fleet, and (if God prosper my Endeavours) will convey both the Ships, and Soldiers on board, safe into *Perſia*, if the Sea, along these Coasts be Navigable, or if any human Art or Industry can accomplish it." *Alexander*, at first, seem'd to deny his Request, professing himself unwilling to expose any of his Friends to such vast Toils, and manifest Hazards ; but when he still continu'd his Suit, and urg'd it strongly, *Alexander* began to commend his ready and chearful Resolution, and immediately constituted him Admiral over the Fleet. Whereupon, the Soldiers, appointed for that Expedition, as well as the Sailors, were much encourag'd, because they imagin'd that the King would never have sent *Nearchus* rashly, and unadvisedly, into the Face of Danger. Besides, the magnificent Preparations which were made, the costly Ornaments which were laid out upon the Navy, the Complai-fance of the Captains towards the common Sailors, and the vast Stores laid in for the Voyage, infused new Life into them all, and raised those, who before despair'd of Safety, to a fresh degree of Hope. Besides, it was no small Encouragement to them, that *Alexander* himself had sailed out of both the Mouths of the River *Indus*, into the Ocean ; and not only offer'd Sacrifices to *Neptune*, and the rest of the Marine Deities, for the safety of the Voyage, but had also thrown several Things of great Value into the Sea. The uninterrupted Series of his good Fortune, contributed not a little to establish their Opinion of this Undertaking, because nothing which he had ever attempted hitherto, had fail'd of Success.



## C H A P. XXI

**A**S soon therefore as the *Eteian*, or anniver-  
sary Winds ceased (which, on these Coasts, blow  
from the Sea, towards the Land, the whole Sum-  
mer, and thereby render Navigation impracticable,  
during that time) they begun their Voyage, on the  
20th Day of the Month *Boedromion*, the 11th Year of  
*Alexander's Reign*, according to the *Macedonian* and  
*Asiatick* Computation, when *Cephisodorus* was *Archon*  
of *Athens*. Before they set sail, *Nearchus* offer'd  
Sacrifices to *Jupiter* the Preserver, and exhibited  
Gymnick Entertainments; and on the first Day, they  
sail'd down the River *Indus*, to a certain large Canal,  
or River, call'd *Stura*, about one hundred *Stadia* di-  
stant from their first Station, where they tarried two  
Days. On the third Day they again mov'd forwards,  
and came to another River, call'd *Caumena*, about  
thirty *Stadia* distant from the former; there the Wa-  
ter tafted brackish, like that of the Ocean; for the  
Tide flowing up beyond this place, mixes with the  
River Water, which retains its Tafte, even after the  
Tide is return'd. Thence proceeding on their Voy-  
age, twenty *Stadia* further, they arriv'd at *Coreatis*,  
still in the River, whence they had not sail'd far, be-  
fore they beheld the Mouth of the River, where  
was a dangerous Rock; besides the Waves beat vio-  
lently upon the Shore, and the Shore it self was  
rugged and unsafe. But having dug a Canal of about  
five *Stadia* in length, where the Earth was easiest to  
remove; as soon as the Tide begun to rise, they got  
their whole Fleet safe through that Passage, into the  
Ocean. Having sail'd thence about one Hundred and  
Fifty *Stadia*, they came to a sandy Island, call'd *Cro-  
cala*, where they tarry'd one Day. The Continent

adjacent to this, is inhabited by the *Arabii*, an *Indian* Nation, whom I have already mention'd in the foregoing Work, and given an Account, that the Country receives its Name from the River *Arabius*, which flowing along the Confines, divides their Territories from the *Oritæ*. From *Crocalæ* they proceeded on their Voyage, having the Mountain *Irus* on their right Hand, and a low flat Island on their left, which extending almost to the Continent, makes a narrow Passage: Having gone through this, they came to a safe Haven; which, because it was both large and commodious, *Nearchus* order'd to be nam'd, the Port of *Alexander*. Opposite to the Mouth of this Haven, at the distance of two *Stadia*, is an Island, call'd *Bibacta*, tho' the adjacent Country be nam'd *Sangada*. This Island is so seated, as of its own Nature, to form a Haven. Here the Winds grew very boisterous, and blew directly in upon the Shore, a long time together, for which Reason, *Nearchus* landed his Men; but fearing that some of the *Barbarian* Nations should make a Descent, and attack their Camp, he caus'd a Wall of Stone to be run round it, and tarry'd there four and twenty Days; during which time, he tells us, his Men caught Fish, which they call'd *Sea-Mice*, and Oysters of a strange and surprising Bigness, in comparison to those in our Seas; and that all the Water thereabouts was brackish.



## C H A P. XXII.

WHEN the Wind was abated, they again put to Sea, and having sail'd about sixty *Stadia* further, came to a sandy Coast, before which was a certain desolate Island, named *Domas*; which, by its Situation, form'd a Haven, but as the Water upon the Coast, was all brackish, they travel'd about twenty *Stadia*, up a level Country, where they found Water sweet and pleasant; and sailing all the next Day, in the Evening they came to a Country call'd *Saranga*, about three hundred *Stadia* from their former Station, where they went on Shore, and found good Water, about eight *Stadia* from their landing-place. Thence, they renew'd their Voyage, and arriv'd at *Sacala*, a Country wholly uninhabited; whence, they pass'd between two Rocks, so near each other, that the Blades of their Oars touch'd them on both sides at once. When they had sailed three hundred *Stadia*, they came to *Morontobara*, where is a large, spacious, safe and commodious Haven; but the Entrance into it is narrow and rocky: This the Natives call'd the Womens Haven, from a certain Woman who first reign'd in that Place. Having pass'd the Rocks, with some difficulty, they came into the open Sea again, and continuing their Voyage, left a certain Island on their left Hand, which is so near joining to the main Land, that the Channel which separates them, seems to have been cut through. That Day they sail'd about seventy *Stadia*, The Shore, all along the Continent, was full of thick Woods, and the Island oppositē thereto, was also woody. About break of Day they departed thence, and pass'd through the above-mention'd Channel, by the help of the Tide, and after a Course of one

Hundred and twenty *Stadia*, arriv'd at the Mouth of the River *Arabius*, where they found a large and safe Harbour, but no fresh Water, because the Tide flows a great way up the River, and makes it brackish; wherefore, passing about forty *Stadia* up the River, they came to a Lake, the Water of which being sweet, they took what they wanted, and return'd. The Island, opposite to this Haven, is high Land, and uncultivated, but round it are vast quantities of Oysters, and all kinds of Fish, which makes it be frequented by Fishermen. Thus far the Country of the <sup>1</sup> *Arabii* extends it self, being the last part of *India*, that way, for the *Oriæ* inhabit the other side of the River.

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I shall here present my Reader with a Specimen of *Arrian's* extraordinary exactness in the Geography of this Coast. He tells us, towards the beginning of the 25th Chapter, that the whole length of the Coast of the *Arabæ*, from the Mouth of the River *Indus*, to the Mouth of the River *Arabius*, was one Thousand *Stadia*; the Particulars of which are to be made up by the several distances failed, according to the Journal in the two foregoing Chapters thus,

From the Rock, at the Mouth of the *Indus* to *Cro-sala*, is

150 *Stadia*

Thence to *Damas*, 60

Thence to *Saranga*, 300

*Montobara*, 300

An Island not named, 70

Thence to the Mouth of the River *Arabius*, 120

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So that the several distances from the Mouth of the River *Indus*, to the Mouth of the River *Arabius*, is 1000 *Stadia*. *Blankard*, in his Annotations, tells us, that the Name of this River is *Arbius*, and the Name of the People ought to be *Arbii*.



## C H A P. XXIII.

**L**EAVING the Mouth of the River *Arabius*, and sailing along the Coast of the Country of the *Orite*, about two hundred Furlongs, they arriv'd at the Island *Pagala*, where they lay; for the Place afforded good Anchorage; and while the Ships rode there, the Sailors went ashore for Water; and then departing as soon as it was light, the next Morning they sail'd four Hundred and thirty *Stadia*, and arriving at *Cabana* in the Evening, design'd to have drawn the Fleet close into the Shore, but because it was rocky and unsafe, they were forc'd to lie off at Sea. Here a violent Storm arising, bore hard upon the Ships, which were expos'd to the open Sea, by which two long Ships, and one small Bark were lost, but the Men sav'd themselves by swimming, for it was not far from Land. Leaving that Place about Midnight, after they had gain'd two hundred *Stadia*, they arriv'd at *Cocala*, where the Sailors rested themselves upon the Shore, while the Ships rode at Anchor in the Sea. *Nearchus* considering that his Men had long endur'd the Hardships and Fatigues of the Sea, was willing to give them a little Refreshment upon the Land; and lest they should be expos'd to the Insults of Enemies, he run a Trench round the place of their Encampment. Here *Leonnatus*, whom *Alexander* had dispatch'd against the *Orite*, overthrew them, and their Confederates in a great Battle, six Thousand of their Soldiers being slain in the Field, besides all their Officers. Of *Leonnatus*'s Party, about fifteen Horse, and a few Foot fell that Day,

besides : *Appolopbanes* Governor of *Gadrosia*. But these Things are already related in the former History. *Leonnatus* had a Crown of Gold plac'd on his Head by *Alexander*, among other *Macedonian* Generals, on account of this Victory. Here *Alexander* procur'd Corn for the Sustenance of his Army. *Nearchus*, and his Men, were ten Days employ'd in bringing sufficient Stores on board the Fleet, and in refitting the Ships, which had been shatter'd by Storms. Such of his Men as were sluggish, and could not brook the fatigues of the Sea, were sent to *Leonnatus*, instead of which, he receiv'd a Supply of such of *Leonnatus*'s Soldiers, as were unwilling to travel further by Land.

<sup>1</sup> This *Appolopbanes* was deputed Governor of the *Gadrosi* and *Oritæ*, when *Alexander* entered their Country in his Journey from *India* towards *Perſia*, *Menon*, their former Governor being Dead. *Arrian* has taken notice of it, *lib. vi. cap. 22*. However, he was soon after deposed for Male-Administration, and *Thoas* was appointed his Successor ; who dying, *Sibyrtius* succeeded him ; so that *Appolopbanes* is only called Governor of the *Gadrosi* here, by way of distinction, to shew, that he was the same Person who was once their Governor. He seems to have taken this Opportunity of affixing *Leonnatus* against the *Oritæ*, to regain the Favour of *Alexander*. This is the best Reason, in my Opinion, that can be given for finding him here, after his being Deposed, *lib. vi. cap. 27*. *Tho' Freinbemius*, in his Observations upon *Curtius*, *lib. ix. 19. 10.* is unwilling to allow it.



## C H A P. XXIV.

THENCE, with a fair Wind, they sail'd about five hundred *Stadia*, 'till they came to a certain River, call'd *Tomerus*; at whose Entrance into the Ocean was a Lake, nigh the Shore. The Inhabitants of these Parts, who dwelt in small Huts, no sooner beheld the Fleet, approaching towards them, but (as if surpriz'd at the strangeness of the Sight) they immediately gather'd together upon the Shore, as tho' they would have hinder'd the Soldiers from landing. They had Spears of six Cubits long, but their Points were not of Iron, but Wood sharpen'd, and harden'd in the Fire, so as to be able to do good Execution; and their Number was about six Hundred. As soon as *Nearchus* perceiv'd that they were drawn up in Order of Battle, he commanded his Ships to move towards the Shore, so that their Darts and Arrows, from on board, might reach the Enemy; for the thick Spears of the *Barbarians* seem'd to be contriv'd on purpose for close Fight, but were not much to be feared at a small distance. Then, such of his Soldiers as were expert in Swiming, and Light-arm'd, he order'd to swim on Shore, and gave strict charge, that as soon as they touch'd the Ground, they should wait in the Water for their Companions, and not pretend to cast a Dart before they had drawn up their whole Body in three Ranks, and that then they should make their Attack with a great Shout, and all the Fury imaginable. The Swimmers accordingly, upon a Signal given, threw themselves into the Sea, and presently reach'd the Shore; then drawing up, according to their Instructions, and raising a Shout, they attack'd the *Barbarians*, with their utmost Force, and, at the same time, those on board the Fleet

Fleet answering their Shout, gall'd them with Darts, and other missive Weapons, from their Engines. The *Barbarians* surpriz'd at the glaring of their Armour, and the suddennes of the Shock, by Sea, as well as Land, being themselves but indifferently arm'd, immedately fled. Many of them were slain in their Flight, and many taken, the rest fled to the Mountains. <sup>1</sup> Those who were taken, were found to be hairy all over their Bodies, as well as their Heads, and to have Nails sharp and long, like the Paws of wild Beasts. Those Nails serv'd them instead of Iron Instruments; with them they kill'd their Fish, with them they cut all sorts of soft Wood, and made use of sharp Stones for those which were harder: For they had no Iron among them; and the Skins of wild Beasts, or those of the larger sort of Fish, serv'd them for Cloathing.

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* gives a slight Description of those People, by the Name of the *Indians* upon the Coast, every Tittle whereof he has taken from *Diodorus*, lib. xviii pag. 572. "These *Indians*, says he, inhabit a vast and desert Country, and maintain no kind of Commerce with their neighbour Nations; so that the Solitude of the Place adds something to the Savagenes of their Dif-positions, who are otherwise rough and untractable enough by Nature. They suffer their Nails to grow without ever cutting them, and wear their Hair flagged without combing. Their Huts are built with Shells; They are cloathed with the Skins of wild Beasts, and feed on small Fish, dry'd in the Sun, and such large ones as the Sea casts on their Shore." See *Curt.* 9. 10. 9.



## C H A P. XXV.

**H**E R E, *Nearbus* order'd the Ships to be drawn on Shore, and those which were damag'd to be repair'd, and proceeding forwards again on their Voyage, the sixth Day, they sail'd six Hundred *Stadia*, and arriv'd at the utmost Limits of the Country of the *Oritæ*, which the Inhabitants call *Malana*. The *Oritæ*, who inhabit the inland Parts, are cloath'd in the same Manner as the *Indians*, and use the same Weapons; but their Language and Customs are different. The length of this whole Voyage from the Mouth of the River *Indus*, along the Coasts of the *Aerabii*, is a Thousand *Stadia*; and the length of the

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1 *Strabo, lib. xv. pag. 1049.* is undoubtedly in an Error, tho' he took his Mensuration of this Coast from *Nearbus's* Journal, as well as *Arrian*. But not only his, but *Pliny's*, and *Philostratus's* Geographical Descriptions thereof, are trifling in comparifon to this of *Arrian*. I have shew'd his extraordinary Accuracy in the Computation of the Coast of the *Arabia* already, and shall now proceed in the same Method, to delineate the Coast of the *Oritæ*, by the several distances which he has laid down, thus;

From the Mouth of the River *Arabius* to *Pagala*, is 200 *Stadia*.  
 Thence to *Cabana*, 430  
                   *Cocala*, 200  
                   River *Tomerus* 500  
                   *Malana*, 300

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So that the whole distance from the River *Arabius* to *Malana*, the last Town upon the Coast of the *Oritæ*, is  $\{ 1630$  *Stadia*.

*Arrian* has rejected the odd thirty, and only given us the fifteen Hundred, as a round Number; this is very common, and is enough to prove *Strabo's* Number of eighteen Hundred, to be erroneous.

Coast

Coast of the *Orite* amounts to <sup>1</sup> one Thousand and six Hundred *Stadia*. *Nearbus* assures us, that during his Voyage along the Coast of *India* (for no part of *India* extends beyond the *Orite*) the <sup>2</sup> Shadows fall not the same Way, as in other parts; for when they sail'd far into the Ocean, towards the South, there, the Shadows, nigh Noon-day, declin'd Southward; and when the Sun was upon the *Meridian*, they had no Shadows at all, the Stars also which were used to appear high above the Horizon, either appear'd not at all, or came but just in sight, and he observ'd many of them there, to rise and set, which had always before been visible. These Accounts of his, are by no means improbable; for in *Syene*, a City of *Egypt*, at the time of the Summer Solstice, is a certain Well, where the Sun at Noon shines down to the bottom. In *Meroe* also, at the same Season of the Year, the Inhabitants have no Shadows. 'Tis therefore highly reasonable, that those Parts of *India*, which lie furthest South, should have the same *Phænomena*, as those Parts of *Egypt*, especially along the *Indian Ocean*, to the Southward of the Continent; but of these by the bye.

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<sup>2</sup> This is certainly a curious Observation, and (if we can suppose it to have been about Midsummer, when they sailed along the Coast) a very just one, for he must have been near the Tropick, and all this Chapter is conformable to the Observations of modern Astronomers.





## C H A P. XXVI.

After the *Orita*, the first County which presents itself, along the Coast, is that of the *Gadrosii*, which, *Alexander* and his Army found so much Difficulty in marching through, and where they sustain'd more Loss, and labour'd under more Inconveniences than in all their Expedition besides; but of this I have treated already. Beyond the *Gadrosii*, dwell those People call'd the *Icthyophagi*, or Fish-eaters, whose Coasts they passed along; and when they had sail'd the first Day about six Hundred *Stadia*, they arriv'd at *Bagisara*, where was a Haven fit for the Reception of a Fleet, and a Village nam'd *Pasira*, about sixty *Stadia* distant from the Shore. The next Day, departing sooner than ordinary, they sail'd round a certain Rock, or Promontory, high and rugged, and stretching out far into the Sea; where, digging Wells, they found Water enough, but it was brackish; and, that Night, the Fleet lay at an Anchor, for they durst not approach the Shore, it being rocky. The Day after, having gain'd two Hundred *Stadia*, they came to *Colta*; whence, departing by Day-light, after they had sail'd six Hundred *Stadia* further, they arriv'd at *Calama*, a Village nigh the Shore, where they refresh'd themselves, and where they found some Dates, and green Figs. There was an Island about an hundred *Stadia* distant from the Shore, call'd *Carnine*, where *Nearchus* receiv'd Gifts, and hospitable Entertainment by the Villagers, their Presents were Cattle and Fish. The Flesh of their Cattle eats fishy, not much unlike to Sea-Fowl, for they feed altogether upon Fish, there being no Grass upon the Island. The next Day, passing two hundred *Stadia* further, they put to Shore, and

and found a Village about thirty *Stadia* up the Country, call'd *Cysa*, tho' the Name of the Coast be *Carbis*. Here they found certain small Boats, belonging to some poor Fishermen, who fled, as soon as they perceiv'd the Fleet approach towards them. But there was no Corn there, and the Army on board begun now to be in want of that: However, they caught some Goats, and having brought them on board, departed. Thence, sailing round a certain high rocky Promontory, which reaches one hundred and fifty *Stadia* out into the Sea, they came to a safe Haven, where dwelt many Fishermen, and where was plenty of fresh Water, the Name of it was *Mosarna*.



## C H A P. XXVII.

HERE, *Nearchus* tells us, he took in a Pilot, to direct them how to steer their Course, along these Coasts, whose Name was *Hydraces*, a *Gadrosian*; who promis'd him to conduct the Fleet safe to *Carmania*. All this Shore from hence, to the Gulph of *Persia*, is less difficult to be pass'd, tho' much more famous in Story, than those he had pass'd already. The Fleet therefore moving from *Mosarna*, by Night, sail'd seven Hundred and fifty *Stadia*, and arriv'd on the Coast of *Balomus*, and thence four Hundred more, to a Village call'd *Barna*, where are many Palm-Trees, and Gardens stor'd with Myrtles, and various sorts of Flowers, whereof the Inhabitants made Garlands. Here, they first found Fruit-Trees, and Men somewhat less savage than any they had met with, since the beginning of their Voyage. Thence, passing two hundred *Stadia*, they came to *Dendrobosa*, where their Fleet lay at Anchor some time; but moving thence, about Midnight, they gain'd the Haven of *Copbanta*,

*Copbanta*, about four hundred *Stadia* further. Here, many Fishermen resided, who made use of small light Boats, and row'd not with Oars, over the side, according to the *Grecian Manner*, but with Paddles, which they thrust into the Water, as Diggers do their Spades into the Earth. Here they found plenty of fresh Water, exceeding good and pleasant. And departing from thence about the first Watch of the Night, they came to *Cyiza*, after they had sail'd eight hundred *Stadia*, and finding the Coast rocky and barren, they cast their Anchors and refresh'd themselves on board. Thence, passing five hundred *Stadia* further, they arriv'd at a small Town seated upon a Hill, not far from the Shore. *Nearchus* imagining that the Country thereabouts produced Corn, told *Archias*, the Son of *Anaxidotus*, the *Pellean*, that the Town must be surpriz'd, and taken, for the Townsmen would not furnish them with Corn, unless they were forc'd; and to take it openly by Assault, they were not able, because it would endure a Siege, and they wanted an immediate Supply. He guess'd that it produc'd Corn, from the thick and tall Stalks which he saw at a distance, not far from the Shore. This Advice receiving his Approbation, he fitted out some of his Ships upon this secret Expedition, and gave the Charge thereof to *Archias*, whilst himself sail'd forward with no more than one Ship, to take a view of the Place.





## C H A P. XXVIII.

THEY approach'd the Town in a friendly Manner, and were kindly receiv'd by the Inhabitants, who presented them with broil'd Tunny-Fish (for they were the last of the *Icthyophagi*, and did not eat raw Fish, like the rest of that Nation) besides Dates, and other ripe Fruits. These, *Nearchus* receiv'd, but told them, he would willingly view their Town, which they also agreed to; but when he had enter'd the Gates, he left two Archers to guard them, whilst himself, with two more, besides an Interpreter, mounting the Wall, on that side next the Fleet, made a Signal to *Archias*, as they had before agreed between themselves. *Archias* no sooner perceiv'd the Signal, than he immediately drew the Fleet nigher, and the *Macedonians* leap'd into the Sea, to swim ashore; whereat the *Barbarians* being astonish'd, flew to their Arms; But *Nearchus* caus'd Proclamation to be made, by his Interpreter, that if they would furnish the Army on Board, with Corn, their Town should not suffer any Damage. They deny'd, at first, that they had any, and pres'd forwards to the Walls, but were easily repuls'd by *Nearchus*'s Archers, who gall'd them with Darts, from an advanc'd Station. And when they perceiv'd that the Town was now in their Enemies Hands, and in danger of being sack'd, they address'd themselves to *Nearchus* in an humble Manner, beseeching him to accept of what Corn they had, for his Use, but to spare the Town. *Nearchus* order'd *Archias* to seize the Gates, and take Possession of the Wall, while he dispatch'd others through the place, to see if they dealt faithfully with him, and shew'd them all the Stores of Corn they had. The Townsmen accordingly shew'd them much

Meal

Meal made of Fish dry'd, and ground to Powder, but little of Wheat or Barley; for they made use of that Powder of dry'd Fish for Bread, and of Wheat-Bread for Meat. When they had shew'd them all their Stock, they took what they had occasion for, and departed thence to a Rock or Island call'd *Bagia*, which the Inhabitants look upon as sacred to the Sun.

## C H A P. XXIX.

**T**HENCE, sailing about Midnight, they proceeded a thousand *Stadia* further, to *Talmena*, a Haven, safe and commodious; and thence sailing four hundred Furlongs, they arriv'd at *Canasis*, a City in Ruins, where they found a Well ready dug, and some Palm-Trees over-shadowing it, the tenderest parts of the tops whereof, they shred small, and eat; for they now begun to be in great want of Bread. They therefore hoisted their Sails again, and sail'd all that Night, and the next Day, along a barren Coast, and then cast Anchor; *Nearcbus* being afraid to suffer them to land, for fear they should take that Opportunity of leaving their Ships, because they begun to dispair of Safety by Sea. Thence departing, they proceeded to *Canates*, about seven hundred and fifty *Stadia*'s distant; and sailing thence, because it was a flat Shore, and every where separated by small Ditches, or Rills of Water, they came to *Træsi*, a Country about eight hundred *Stadia* further: There were some small, and poor Villages nigh the Coast, but the Inhabitants fled. However they found a little Corn, and Palm Fruits, and seiz'd up.

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on seven Camels, which were left behind ; these they immediately kill'd, and eat their Flesh. Thence, continuing their Voyage, about Day-light, they advanc'd to *Dagafira*, three hundred *Stadia* further ; which Place, a certain wandering Colony then posseſſ'd ; whence departing, they sail'd that whole Night, and the next Day, without casting Anchor, or taking any rest on Shore ; and having proceeded thus one Thousand one Hundred *Stadia*, they paſſed the utmoſt Limits of the Country of the *Ictbyopbagi*, being ſtill reduc'd to great Straits for want of Provisions ; beſides, they durſt not venture to put their Ships to the Shore, because it was rocky, for which reaſon they were forc'd to cast Anchor in the open Sea. The whole length of the Coast of this Country of the *Ictbyopbagi*, as they computed it by this Voyage, is : ten Thousand *Stadia*. The Inhabitants receiv'd that

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<sup>1</sup> *Strabo* in his fifteenth Book, pag. 1049. tells us, that the length of the Coast of the *Ictbyopbagi*, is no more than ſeven Thousand and four Hundred *Stadia*. But that the Number is too ſmall, will eaſily appear, by computing the ſeveral diſtances which they ſail'd, from the beginning of Chap. 26. to this Place ; and to ſave my Reader the Trouble of collecting them, I ſhall here preſent him with them, in one View, as I have already done with the two former. I muſt not, however, forget to acquaint him, that, either by the Fault of the Transcribers, or ſome other unknown Accident, be-tween *Canasis*, and *Canates*, there is a Day and Nights diſtance omitted : The whole stands thus,

From *Malana*, the laſt Town upon the Coast of <sup>2</sup> *the Oritas* to *Bagafira*, is <sup>3</sup> 600 *Stadia*.

Thence to *Colia*, 200

*Calama*, 600

*Cyja*, 200

Thence, round the Promontory to *Majorna*, 400

*Balomus*, 750

*Burna*, 400

*Dendroboſa*. 200

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3350 *Stadia*.

brought

that Appellation from their living upon Fish. Some of them are profess'd Fishermen, tho' few have Boats for that purpose, or understand much how to catch Fish artfully; for they get the greatest quantity of theirs when the Tide leaves the Shore. Some of them indeed, make Nets, of two *Stadia* in length, and make use of the inner Rind of Palm-Trees, which they twist together, as we do Hemp: But when the Tide falls away, and the Sea leaves their Shores, they find vast plenty of Fish in the small Gullets, or hollow places, where the Shore is not quite flat, which they catch in Nets and keep for their Use. Some of these are small, and others larger; the small ones they take out of their Nets, and immediately eat them raw, the larger and tougher sort they lay in the Sun to roast, and afterwards rub them to Powder, and make Bread thereof, and some mix this Powder and the Flower of Wheat together. Their Cattle have much the same Diet as their Masters; for that Country is wholly barren, and yields no sort of Gras. Vast store of Crabs and Oysters, and all sorts of Shell-fish are found on these Coasts; and the Country naturally

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brought over 3350  
*Copbanta*, 400

*Cyiza*, 800  
 A Town not nam'd, which they took, 500

*Talmena*, 1000

*Canafis*, 400

Here one Day and Night's distance is omitted, . . .

*Canates*, 750

*Traſi*, 800

*Dagafira*, 300

Thence to the last Limits of the Coast, 1100

These several Sums amount to 9400 *Stadia*.

To which if I may be allowed to add 900 *Stadia* for the Day and Night's sailing, omitted in the Journal, between *Canafis* and *Canates*, it will amount to 10000 *Stadia*, which is enough to prove the Truth of this, and that Strabo's Number of 7400, must be false.

naturally produces <sup>2</sup> Olive-Trees, from whence they extract Oil. But those who inhabit the most desolate Parts, which produce neither Trees nor Fruits, live wholly upon Fish. Few sow any Corn, and even those who do, eat the Bread instead of Meat, and Fish instead of Bread. They build their Houses in this manner: The richer Sort among them, gather up the Bones of Whales, or such other large Fish, as they find cast up upon the Shore, and use the smaller Bones for Rafters, and those of a larger size for Door-posts; but the People of inferior Rank, build with the Ribs, and Back-bones of other Fish.

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<sup>2</sup> All the printed Editions of *Arrian*, that I have seen, have *λασ* in this place, which both *Vulcanius* and *Facius* have render'd *Sal*; and no Commentator, that I know of, has ever touch'd upon it, to shew us what they thought of it. As for my part, I believe the Antients were no such extraordinary Chymists, as to be able to extract Oil out of Sea Water, or any kind of Salt whatever; for which Reason (supposing the Author to have wrote Sense Originally, and we seldom find him transgres in that particular) we must seek out another Word to substitute instead of *λασ*, and what is so near a kin to it, as *ελασ*? and this, I am satisfied it was Originally; for from whence should the Inhabitants have Oil, but from Olive-Trees?





## C H A P. XXX.

**W**HALES, of a vast Bulk, are often seen in these foreign Seas ; and many other sorts of Fish are bred there, much larger than any in ours. *Nearbus* tells us, that in their Voyage near *Cyiza*, he saw the Water, one Morning, forc'd upwards in a violent manner, and rising a-loft from the Sea, as if hoisted up by a Whirl-wind, and when the Marriners were surpriz'd at the Strangenes of the Sight, and enquir'd of the Pilots what could be the cause thereof, they were answer'd, that Fish sporting in the Sea, spouted forth the Waters to that vast height, whereupon they were seiz'd with so much Fear, that they suffer'd the Oars to fall out of their Hands. How-

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1 *Strabo* has given us an extraordinary Account of this, in his fifteenth Book, pag. 1055. "When *Nearbus*, says he, arriv'd within the *Arabian Gulph* (the same which is now call'd the *Persian Gulph*) he suffer'd many Hardships, not only by reason of their want of Knowledge of the Coast, but also from the huge Whales they saw there ; and tho' it is not unlikely that Sailors may sometimes take the privilege of telling strange Stories instead of true ones ; yet all agree they were wonderfully scared. The vastness of those Whales terrified them exceedingly, for they spouted forth such prodigious Streams of Water, and therby caused so great a Darknes, that they were scarce able to discern each other. However, their Pilots assur'd them, that these were only huge Fish, which might easily be scared away by loud Shouts, and sounding of Trumpets. Whereupon *Nearbus* steer'd his Ships directly to the place where he saw the Waters forc'd upwards with the greatest fury, and sounded his Trumpets, upon which the Whales sunk down, and disappeared." — He then proceeds to acquaint us, "that as many as sail now into *India*, give some Account of the bigness of the Whales, but assure us, they neither appear often, nor in great Numbers together,

ever, the Admiral encourag'd them, and order'd them, whenever they perceiv'd any of those Monstrous Fish approach, to direct the Beaks of their Ships exactly towards them, as if they were to engage an Enemy in a Sea Fight, as also to row stoutly, and to make as great a Noise as they could, as well with their Voices, as their Oars. The Mariners thus instructed, recover'd from their Fright, and, upon a Signal given, ply'd their Oars manfully ; and when they come near the Fish, not only shouted as loud as possible, but sounded their Trumpets, and beat the Sea vehemently with their Oars ; whereupon the Whales, who were now, just under the Beaks of their Ships, terrify'd with the Strangeness of the Sound, sunk down to the bottom of the Deep, and rising again at some distance, begun to spout forth the Water as before. Then the Sailors rejoic'd exceedingly at their unexpected Deliverance, and with one Voice, applauded the Wisdom and Courage of their Admiral. Some of those Whales are left ashore, on several parts of that Coast (when the Tide falls away) and entangl'd in the Shallows : <sup>2</sup> Others are thrown ashore by the violence of Storms, and when their Bodies are consum'd, and the Fish all wash'd away, the Bones of the Skeleton serve the Inhabitants instead of Timber, wherewith to build their Houses. The Ribs, and larger Bones, they choose for Beams and

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<sup>2</sup> *Strabo* says, pag. 1056. " that these Whales are not thrown ashore alive, nor whole ; but that their Bones are cast upon the Beach, after the Fish is rotted, or wash'd off from them, and these supply the Inhabitants with Materials for building their Houses : for he tells us, just before, that they use the Ribs for Beams, and Rafters, and the Jaws for Door-posts. He adds also, that they make the Sockets, wherein the Joints of the Back-bone turn, to serve them for Mortars, wherein they pound those Fish which they have roasted in the Sun, and of these, mixt with a little Flower, they make Bread."

Rafters, the lesser for Boards for Covering ; the Jaw-bones for Door-posts ; for many of these Whales grow to the length of an hundred Cubits.



## C H A P. XXXI.

**N**EARCHUS having now passed the Country of the *Icthyophagi*, was told that there was a barren Island in that Sea, about an hundred *Stadia* distant from the Continent, call'd <sup>1</sup> *Nesala* ; sacred to the Sun, and not to be approach'd by any Mortal ; or if any Body be so imprudent as to venture on Shore there, he immediately disappears, and is seen no more. Whereupon he dispatch'd one small Galley, mann'd with *Egyptian* Marriners, who having enter'd the Island, vanish'd out of sight ; and his Commanders reported, that the Sailors having rashly ventur'd to land , were suddenly hurried away. However, he afterwards sent a Ship of thirty Oars, to coast round the Island (but order'd them not to attempt to land) and all the way as they sail'd along the shore thereof, to call upon the Pilot of the Ship by Name, or any other of the most noted Marriners. But when none durst undertake the Voyage, he tells us, he attempted it himself, and forc'd some Marriners, even against their Will, to attend him on board.

<sup>1</sup> We have an account of this Island in several Authors, especially in *Strabo*, pag. 1056. tho' he names it not ; but as his is the same in Substance with the first part of *Arrian's*, it is not necessary here to repeat it. *Curtius* gives us some faint glimmerings of this, *lib. x. cap. 1. 5.* for he says, that " many Ships with Slaves and Merchandise venturing to an Island, for the sake of Gold, were never seen afterwards."

But when they come to make a Descent, they found all that Story relating to the Island, vain and fictitious. However, he assures us, he heard another Story concerning it, namely, that one of the *Nereids* had chose it for her place of Residence, and that she was w<sup>t</sup>nt to have carnal Knowledge of all the Men, who, by any Accident, were forc'd on Shore there; and afterwards she chang'd them into Fish, and sent them into the Sea. Whereupon the Sun being enraged against her, commanded her to depart out of the Island; but she beseeching him to free her from her innate Rage of Lust, he not only granted her Request, but also, that whomsoever her Inchantments had metamorphosed into Fish, should re-assume their former Shapes, and become Men again; and from these Men, thus reduc'd, he tells us, proceeded the Nation of the *Ichthyopagi*, which continued 'till *Alexander's* Time. As for my part, I cannot forbear wondering, that *Nearchus* should so far abuse his natural Wisdom, and known Sagacity, to suffer himself to be impos'd upon by a Story, when he might so easily have found out the Truth, and cannot think it redounds to his Honour, unless he deem'd the Fables, and Fictions of ancient Times so sacred, as not to be contradicted,



## C H A P. XXXII.

B EYOND the *Icthyopagi*, in the inland Parts, dwell the *Gadrosii*, in a barren and sandy Country, where *Alexander* and his Army suffered intolerable Hardships, as is already mention'd in the foregoing Work. After *Nearbus*, with the Fleet under his Command, had pass'd the Coasts of the *Icthyopagi*, they came to *Carmania*, and anchor'd their Ships in the Sea, because the Shore there was rocky and dangerous. Thence, they stretch'd their Course not so nigh the West, as before, but rather between the South and West. *Carmania* is a Country much more fertile, both in Corn and Fruits, than either those of the *Icthyopagi*, or *Oriæ*; and much better stor'd with Grafs, and fresh Water. When they arriv'd at *Badis*, a well cultivated Place of *Carmania*, they found plenty of Fruit-trees, of most kinds, except Olives; as also, great store of Vines and Corn. Thence, proceeding eight hundred *Stadia*, they touch'd upon a Shore, wholly Waste. From this Place they saw a huge Promontory stretch'd out a vast way into the Ocean, which seem'd about a Days sail distant from them. Those who understood the situation of the Country, affirm'd, that this Promontory belong'd to *Arabia*, and was call'd *Maceta*,, and that Cinnamon, and other fragrant Spices were convey'd thence to the *Affrians*. From this Shore, where the Fleet lay at Anchor, and the Promontory which they then saw before them (according to *Nearbus*'s Opinion, to which I readily assent) the Gulph of *Perſia*, which some call the *Red-Sea*, has its beginning. When *Oenescritus* view'd this Promontory, he gave Orders that the

the Fleet should steer directly thither ; but *Nearchus* oppos'd him, and declar'd, " That *Onesicritus* must have a shallow Memory, if he did not remember for what Purpose the Fleet was order'd to pass those Seas. He then assur'd him, that the above-mention'd Voyage was not undertaken, because the King was unable to convey the whole Army safe Home by Land, but because he had fix'd a Resolution of viewing the situation of all Shores, Havens, and Islands ; of searching the bottom of all Gulphs and Creeks, and having an Account given him of all Maritime Places, and which Countries were fruitful, and which barren and uninhabited ; and that therefore, they ought not entirely to pervert the whole Design, when they were now well nigh the end of their Voyage ; especially seeing they wanted no Necessaries to prosecute it : He was afraid, as that Promontory stretch'd itself so much to the Southward, that by sailing round the Point, they might fall upon some sandy, barren, and Sun-burnt Region." *Nearchus's* Judgment prevail'd, and this seasonable Advice of his, seems, to me, to have preserv'd the Fleet ; for all the Country, adjacent to that Promontory, is said to be wild and uncultivated, and wholly destitute of fresh Water.





## C H A P. XXXIII.

THE Fleet moving thence, and passing along Shore, the space of seven Hundred *Stadia*, came to another Coast call'd *Neoptana*, and leaving that Place about Day-break, and sailing an hundred *Stadia* further, they arriv'd at a Town call'd *Harmozia*, at the Mouth of the River *Anamis*, in a Country pleasant and agreeable, and abounding in every thing, except Olives. Here, going on Shore, they gladly refresh'd themselves, after so many, and hard Labours, and joyfully reflected on the various Accidents they had encounter'd, during the whole Voyage. They there call'd to mind their great Distresses among the *Icthyopagi*; their touching upon desert and uninhabited Coasts; their falling in among Nations savage and inhospitable, while they labour'd under the most dreadful Circumstances of Hunger and Thirst. In the mean while, some of them roving further than ordinary into the Country, at a distance from their Companions, as their own Fancies directed them, found there a certain Person, whose Cloak, and all other Habiliments, were perfectly shap'd after the *Grecian Manner*, and who also spoke Greek; at the sight of whom they could not refrain Tears of Joy; so strange and unexpected a thing it was for them, after the Fatigues of so long a Voyage, to see one of their own Country-men, and hear their own Language spoke. They then ask'd him who he was, and how he came thither? He reply'd, that he was a *Grecian*, who had wander'd from *Alexander's Camp*, and that the King and his whole Army were not

not far distant. He was thereupon conducted to *Nearchus*, with all the Acclamations of Joy imaginable, and told him, that the Army lay encamp'd about five Days Journey from that place. He also propos'd to bring the Governour of that Province to *Nearchus*, and perform'd it accordingly. He consulted with him, how he should go to the King by Land, which done, they went on board the Fleet together. Early the next Morning he order'd the Ships to be drawn on Shore, partly to repair whatever was broke or shatter'd, during the Voyage, and partly because he determin'd to leave most of his Forces there: Wherefore he took care to run a double Rampart, and Ditch of Earth round, to secure them; and make a deep Ditch from the Bank of the River, to that part of the Shore, where the whole Navy lay.



## C H A P. XXXIV.

**I**N the mean time, while *Nearchus* was busied in making Preparations for his Journey, the Governour of that Province knowing how solicitous the King was for the safety of his Fleet, imagin'd he should be royally Rewarded, if he carry'd the first News that the Army was safe, and *Nearchus* on his Way thither; wherefore, taking the nearest Road, he came to *Alexander*, and told him the Story. The King, tho' he gave no great Credit to his Intelligence, was, nevertheless rejoyc'd at the News. But when several Days pass'd, from the time when he receiv'd the first Notice thereof, he begun to suspect the Truth of what had been told him; and when several Messengers had

had been dispatch'd, one after another, to convey *Nearchus* thither; and some, when they had gone a little way, return'd, without being able to give any Account of him; and others, who had gone further, but found him not, return'd not at all; then the King order'd the Man, who had thus augmented his Sorrow, by an unseasonable Joy, to be taken into Custody, as the Author of a false Rumour; and he then begun to shew, by his Countenance, the excessive Grief which he had harbour'd in his Breast. In the mean whils, others who were dispatch'd with Horses and Chariots, to seek and bring up *Nearchus*, met him and *Archias*, on their Way, with no more than five or six Attendants. At the first sight they knew neither of them, they were so much alter'd, and look'd so different from what they had formerly done. The Hair of their Heads, and their Beards, hung down in a neglected manner; their Faces were Weather-beaten, Swarthy, and Sun-burnt; and their Bodies emaciated with much Watching, and hard Labour. When *Nearchus*, and his Companions, ask'd them the Way to *Alexander*'s Camp, they gave them Directions, and march'd strait forwards: But *Archias* imagining on what Errand they were sent, turn'd to *Nearchus*, and told him, that those Men, taking the same Way, by which they came, he verily thought were dispatch'd on purpose to seek for them; that he did not wonder they knew them not, they being so vastly chang'd, as well in Face, as Habit; but, says he, let us make our selves known to them, and enquire the reason of their Journey this Way. This Advice pleasing *Nearchus*, they ask'd them whither they intended to travel; and receiv'd answer, That they were sent to search for *Nearchus*, and the Army on board the Fleet; to whom he immediately reply'd, I am *Nearchus*, and this Man is *Archias*, be ye therefore our Guides to the Camp, and we will satisfy the King concerning the safety of both.



## C H A P. XXXV.

TAKING them therefore into their Chariots, they return'd towards the Camp: Some of the Company, notwithstanding, having an Ambition to carry the first News, hasted, and told the King, that *Nearchus* approach'd in Person, and with him *Archias*, and five more of their Companions; but as to the Army, he had heard nothing concerning it, and therefore could give no Account of it. From this News *Alexander* gather'd, that *Nearchus* and *Archias* were, by some extraordinary Providence, happily preserv'd, but that the whole Army on board was lost, and therefore his Joy for their Preservation could hardly balance the Grief he endur'd for the suppos'd Loss of the Fleet. However, the Messenger had scarce made an end of speaking, when *Nearchus* and *Archias* arriv'd, whom *Alexander* could hardly know, they were so rough and Weather-beaten, and their Cloaths in such a tatter'd Condition. And this mean Appearance of theirs, serv'd to confirm him in the Opinion he had conceiv'd of the Disaster happen'd to the Fleet, and heighten'd his Grief, on that Occasion. Wherfore, taking *Nearchus* by the right Hand, and leading him apart, from among his Friends, and Guards, he wept for a long time: But, at last, restraining his Tears; "Forasmuch as you, *Nearchus*, and *Archias* (says he) are return'd safe and unhurt, " I bear the Loss of the whole Fleet with Patience, " but resolve me, by what Misfortune the Navy, " and

" and Army on Board, came to perish." Then *Nearchus* perceiving the Cause of his Grief, reply'd, " O King, your Navy and Army are both safe, and " we are come as Messengers of their happy Arrival." The King no sooner heard these Words, but Tears of Joy succeeded those of Sorrow, because his Fleet was preserved so contrary to his Expectations; he then enquir'd of *Nearchus* where they were in Harbour, who assur'd him, they were at the Mouth of the River *Anamis*, and drawn on Shore to be repair'd. The King then swore by the *Grecian Jove*, and the *Libyan Hammon*, that the preservation of his Fleet, was more acceptable to him, than the Conquest of *Asia*, and that the Grief he should have endur'd for the Loss of that, would have over-ballanc'd all his Joy for the Acquisition of the other.





## C H A P. XXXVI.

THE Governor of the Province, who had been taken into Custody, on suspicion of false Intelligence, beholding *Nearchus*, fell at his Feet, and cry'd out, I am he who brought the King the first News of your safe Arrival, and see how I am receiv'd: Then, at *Nearchus's* Request, he was set at Liberty. *Alexander* then offered Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, the Preserver, *Hercules*, and *Apollo Alexicacus* (or the preventer of Misfortunes) to *Neptune*, and the other Sea-Gods, for the preservation of his Navy; he also exhibited Sports of Musick and Wrestling, himself leading on the Shew. *Nearchus* was honour'd with the chief Place there, and had Flowers and Garlands strow'd before him, by all the Army. Which done, the King spoke to him to this effect: "I will, henceforth, no more expose thee, O *Nearchus*, to fresh Toils and Hazards, but will depute some other, to convey the Fleet to *Susa*." To whom *Nearchus* reply'd, "I desire, and am in Duty bound, to obey any Sovereign in all Things, but if you will shew me any Favour, let me obtain this my earnest Request, to preside over the Fleet, and Army on board, till they be safe at *Susa*, and, as I have with great Danger and Hazards brought them thus far, let not another reap the Glory of my Toils, and finish what is now easy and de-lightful." Whilst he was thus speaking, *Alexander* order'd him to take Heart, for his Request was granted, and so dismiss'd him, with a slender Guard, to his Ships, because they were not to pass through an Enemies

Enemies Country. However, this Journey of *Nearchus* back to the Sea-shore, was not without Danger; for the *Barbarians* having gather'd vast Forces together, had already assaulted and taken all the strong Holds in *Carmania*; for their <sup>1</sup> Gover-nour had finish'd what was order'd him by *Alexander*, and *Tlepolemus*, was newly deputed to succeed him, had not yet got so firm Possession, by reducing the Natives, but that two or three different Parties of them attack'd *Nearchus*, and his Companions, all in one Day; wherfore, making what haste they could, they, with much Trouble and Difficulty, at last, arriv'd safe at the Sea-shore. There, *Nearchus* offered Sacrifices to *Jupiter* the Preserver, and order'd Gymnick Exercises to be solemnly exhibited.

<sup>1</sup> *Blancard*, in his Notes upon *Arrian*, has tax'd his Author with an Oversight here; and so has *Freinsheimius* in his Observations upon *Curtius*, lib. ix. cap. 10. 21. but both of them have fallen into an Error, by following *Vulcanius*'s faulty Translation, instead of adhering close to the Original. *Arrian*'s Words are, ὅτι γ. ὁ Σαβερτος ἀντοῖσι τελευτῆκει τῇ περισταξίᾳ Ἀλεξανδρε. This, *Vulcanius* has translated, *Nam Satrapa eorum iussu Alexandri interfectus fuerat*. And *Freinsheimius* has copied him Word for Word. Their Mistake lies in translating the Word τελευτῆκει, by the Latin Word *interfectus fuerat*, (was put to Death) when it only signifies *perfecit*, that is, he had finished the Task enjoyn'd him. This Governor was *Sibyrtius*, whom *Arrian* mentions as promoted from *Carmania*, to succeed *Thoas* in the Government of the *Gadrosi*, lib. vi. cap. 27. Thus *Arrian* is consistent with himself; and as for *Curtius*'s *Aspates*, whom he mentions as Governor of *Carmania*, I cannot tell what to make of him; for unless (as the Author of the *Delpini* Notes imagines) *Carmania* was divided into two Governments, like *Media*, *Curtius* must be in an Error.



## C H A P. XXXVII.

ALL religious Duties being then fully performed, they left that Port, and set sail, and passing by a small Island, rocky and barren, arriv'd at another, larger, and well-inhabited, about three Hundred *Stadia* distant from the Place whence they sail'd: The barren Island was call'd *Organa*, but that where they landed, <sup>1</sup> *Oaraſta*. It produc'd plenty of Vines, Palm-Trees, and Corn, and was full eight Hundred *Stadia* in length. The Governour thereof, *Mazanes* by Name, freely offered *Nearchus* his Service, both as a Companion and Pilot, in his Voyage to *Susa*. In this Island, the Sépulchre of the first Monarch thereof, is said, still to remain, and that his Name was *Erybras*, and from him the Sea was call'd *Mare Erybreum*. Thence, they sail'd about two Hundred *Stadia* further, and arriv'd at another Port, in the same Island; and thence they had the prospect

<sup>1</sup> I cannot imagine how *Strabo*, who most commonly copies from the same Author with *Arrian*, should make *Tyrina* the Burial-place of King *Erybras*, lib. xv. pag. 1111. not only contrary to *Arrian*, but all Geographers besides; for *Dionysius*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, *Stephanus*, and *Solinus* call it *Ogyris*; *Ptolemy* and *Arrian* *Ouoeſſeχθa*. *Vossius* has endeavour'd to reconcile *Strabo* with the rest, by imagining the Name *Tyrina* to be false, and substituting *Gyrina*, or *Ogyrina* in its place, which sounds something like *Ogyris*; but if we should admit this, what will he do with his *Doracta* afterwards, where the same Story is related, which *Arrian* gives us, of *Mazanes* the Governour thereof, offering himself to *Nearchus* for a Pilot? I much rather therefore imagine his *Tyrina* to be the same with *Arrian's Organa*, and his *Doracta*, *Arrian's Oaraſta*; and that the fabulous Story of King *Erybras*'s Monument, is fix'd by some to one of these Islands, and by others, to the other; and thus the *Organa* of *Arrian*, may be the *Tyrina* of *Strabo*, and the *Ogyris*, of *Dionysius*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, and *Stephanus*.

of another Island, about forty *Stadia* distant, which was said to be sacred to *Neptune*, and inaccessible. They departed thence, early in the Morning, but were attack'd so furiously, by a sudden Storm, that three of their Ships were forced among the Shallows, and the rest, with much Difficulty, escaped from that rocky Shore, and got safe into deep Water. However, those Ships which were forced on Shore, were again drawn off, when the Storm ceased, and, the next Day, joyn'd the rest of the Fleet. Thence, they proceeded all together four Hundred *Stadia* further, to another Island, three Hundred *Stadia* from the main Land, where they harboured. Thence moving, early in the Morning, and leaving a small desolate Island, called *Pylora*, on the left Hand, they arrived at *Sidodone*, a small Town, destitute of all Necessaries, but Fish and fresh Water; and therefore Necessity makes them to be *Icthyophagi*, or Fish-eaters, because they live in a Country wholly uncultivated. Departing thence, they sailed three Hundred *Stadia*, to *Tarsias*, a Promontory, which runs far out into the Sea; and thence, three Hundred more to *Cataea*, an Island, barren and rocky, which is said to be sacred to *Mercury* and *Venus*. Into this Island, Sheep and Goats are Yearly convey'd by the Inhabitants of the adjacent Parts, as Offerings to the God and Goddess thereof; all which, the length of Time, and the barrenness of the Place, carry off, tho' the Supplies be as constant as the Consumption.



## C H A P. XXXVIII.

**T**HUS far *Carmania* extends, but stretching further, enters upon the Territories of *Perisia*: The length of this Voyage, along the Coast of *Carmania*, is three Thousand seven Hundred *Stadia*. The *Carmanians* live after the *Perisan* Manner, as being their next Neighbours: They use the same Arms, and observe the same Martial Discipline. The Fleet sailed from thence four Hundred *Stadia*, and came to a certain Place called *Ilas*, upon the *Perisan*

<sup>1</sup> *Strabo* and *Arrian* agree exactly in the whole length of the Coast of *Carmania*, but *Arrian* is deficient in one of his distances, namely, from the first Entrance upon the Coast, to *Badis*. Whether this has been the neglect of Transcribers, or Editors, I know not. However, as this is, I fancy it is the most curious, as well as the most perfect ancient Journal of a Voyage extant. The several distances along the Coast of *Carmania* stand thus:

|   |      |            |
|---|------|------------|
| From the Entrance upon the Coast to <i>Badis</i> , the distance is omitted, | 2    | ... Stadia |
| Thence to <i>Maceta</i> ,   | 800  |            |
| <i>Neoptana</i> ,   | 700  |            |
| <i>Harmozia</i> ,   | 100  |            |
| <i>Oaracta</i> ,  | 300  |            |
| another Port in <i>Oaracta</i>  | 200  |            |
| an Island sacred to <i>Neptune</i> ,  | 40   |            |
| <i>Pylora</i> ,   | 400  |            |
| Thence to <i>Sidodone</i> , the distance omitted                            | ...  |            |
| <i>Tarfias</i> ,  | 300  |            |
| <i>Catæa</i> ,  | 300  |            |
| The whole Sum is  | 3140 | Stadia.    |

To which we may well suppose, if the first distance omitted, and the distance between *Pylora* and *Sidodone* were added, they would make up the 560 *Stadia*, which are here wanting to compleat the whole Extent of the Province of *Carmania* along the Sea Coast.

Shore,

Shore, opposite to which is an Island named *Caicandrus*, which forms the Haven. The next Morning they arriv'd at an inhabited Island, wherein, as in the *Indian Ocean*, *Nearcbus* assures us, Pearls were found. Having passed the utmost Point of this Island, which was forty *Stadia* further, they there found a convenient Station for the Fleet. Thence, they sailed to *Ocbus*, a high Mountain or Promontory, where they found a Haven safe from Storms, and a Place inhabited by Fishermen : Steering four Hundred and fifty *Stadia* further, they arrived at *Apostani*, where they found many Ships at Anchor, and where was a Village about sixty *Stadia* from the Shore. Thence, renewing their Voyage by Night, and having gained four Hundred *Stadia*, they came into a noted Bay, where were many Villages, and where they lay at Anchor, nigh the Foot of a Mountain. The Country thereabouts produces Palms, and other Fruit-bearing Trees, as good, and in as great plenty, as *Greece*. Thence, they pass'd on about six Hundred *Stadia* further, and arriv'd at *Gogana*, a Country well-inhabited ; they anchored the Fleet at the Mouth of a certain small Brook, or River, call'd *Areon*, a Station dangerous enough, the Entrance thereto, being extreamly narrow, and almost choaked up with Sand. Thence, they proceeded to the Mouth of another River, named *Sitacus*, about eight Hundred *Stadia* further, where they found a safe Station. The whole Voyage along the *Persian Coast*, was among Rocks and Shallows ; and the Shore it self was low, marshy Ground. There *Nearcbus* found plenty of Corn, which the King had purposelly convey'd thither, for the Sustenance of the Army on Board. There they tarried twenty one Days, and not only drew all their crazy and Weather-beaten Ships on Shore, and repair'd them, but refitted some, which were, at first sight, judged incapable of proceeding further.



## C H A P. XXXIX.

THEN, again putting forwards, they arrived at *Hieratis*, a Place well inhabited, about seven Hundred and fifty *Stadia* distant from their former Station; where they drew their Fleet up into a Canal, call'd *Heratemis*, and departing thence early the next Morning, came to the Mouth of a River call'd *Podargus*. This Country, which is a *Peninsula*, and call'd *Mesambria*, they found stored with Gardens, and in them, Fruit-bearing Trees of all kinds. Thence, sailing about two Hundred *Stadia*, they arrived at *Taoce*, nigh the Mouth of the River *Granis*: About two Hundred *Stadia* up this River, in the inland Parts, is a Palace of the *Perfian Monarchs*. During this Voyage, *Nearchus* assures us, he saw a Whale, which had been cast ashore and that some of his Sailors measured the length thereof, which amounted to fifty Cubits: His Skin was rough and scaly, and a full Cubit in thickness, and many Oysters, and several kinds of Shell-fish, with much Sea-weed stuck to him, as to a Rock. Many Dolphins were seen not far off, much larger than those which our Seas produce. Thence, passing forwards about two Hundred *Stadia*, they arrived at the Mouth of the River *Ragonis*, where was a safe Haven; and four Hundred *Stadia* still further, they came to the Mouth of another River call'd *Brizana*, where they had a Station unsafe, because of the numerous Rocks and Shelves thereabouts; while the Tide flow'd in, they rode well enough, but when the Ebb came on, they stuck fast among the Shallows. However, the next Tide they sailed thence, and anchored at the Mouth of the River

River *Arofis*, which, *Nearchus* tells us, is the largest of all those which he had observed, during his whole Voyage, in the foreign Ocean.

CHAP. XL.

THE Persian Territories extend to this River, and no further: Those of *Susa* beginning on the other side. The *Susians* live according to their own Laws. Those further up the Mid-land Country are called *Uzii*, whom we have branded with Thievery, in the foregoing Work. The whole Coast of *Perisia* is : four Thousand and four Hundred *Stadia* in length.

All the particular Distances which they sailed, along the *Perisan* Coast, have been here exactly pointed out by *Arrian*; but the same Misfortune has happen'd to this, as to some of the rest, namely, an omission of one or two. However, I shall present them to my Reader's View, in the best Order I am able.

From the first Entrance upon the *Perisan* Coast, to  
Ilas, is

|                             |     |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| Thence to the Pearl Island, | 40  |
| <i>Apostani</i> ,           | 450 |
| A Bay not named,            | 400 |
| <i>Gogana</i> ,             | 600 |
| <i>Sitacus</i> ,            | 800 |
| <i>Hieratis</i> ,           | 750 |
| <i>Podargus</i> ,           | ... |
| <i>Taoce</i> ,              | 200 |
| <i>Ragonis</i> River,       | 200 |
| <i>Brizana</i> River,       | 400 |
| <i>Araffis</i> River,       | ... |

The Sum of these distances 4240 *Stadia*. And undoubtedly the distance between *Hieratis* und *Podargus*. and between *Brizana* and *Arofis*, would make up the remaining 160 *Stadia*. *Strabo* agrees exactly with *Arrian* in the whole distance.

The extent of the *Perſian* Dominions may be aptly divided into three Parts, according to the Situation. The Southern Part, bordering upon the *Red Sea*, is sandy and barren, and parch'd with Heat. The middle part, lying more Northerly, under a temperate Climate, abounds in Corn and Grass; has many fair, well-watered, and spacious Meads; and sundry Vineyards, stored with all sorts of Fruit-bearing Trees, except Olives. Their Gardens are pleasant, and delightful; their Rivers and Streams cool and limpid, and plentifully stored with all sorts of Water-Fowl. It has also vast Pastures fit for feeding Horses, and other Cattle, and spacious Wood-lands for Hunting. The third and Northermost Division of this Country, is cold and barren, and often covered with Snow. *Nearchus* tells us, that certain Embassadors came from the Coasts of the *Euxine Sea*, by a very short Way, to meet *Alexander* in *Perſia*; and when he admir'd at the quickness of their Journey, they demonstrated to him the shortness of the Road. That the *Uxii* border upon the *Susians*, has been declar'd already; as also the *Mardi*, who are Thieves, upon the *Perſians*, and the *Coffæans* upon the *Medes*. All these Nations *Alexander* over-run in the Winter-Season, when they deemed themselves secure, by the depth of their Snows, and the badness of their Roads. He also built Cities among them, that they might no longer wander about, without any settled Places of Residence, but be Husbandmen, and Feeders of Cattle; and having each a Property of their own to defend, might, hereafter, abstain from encroaching upon their Neighbours. Thence, the Fleet entred upon the Country of *Susa*; and from this Place *Nearchus* tells us, he cannot give such a certain Account of all Occurrences, relating to the Voyage, as before, except the several Ports they enter'd, and the distances they sailed. All the Tract of Sea along that Coast, is shallow Water, and rocky; so that no Haven can be gained, without some

some danger. They therefore took care, while they lay at the Mouth of that River, on the Confines of *Persia*, to take in a Supply of fresh Water, for five Days, their Pilots having assured them, that none was to be found along that Coast.

## C H A P. XLI.

**A**BOU T five Hundred *Stadia* distant from their former Station, they cast Anchor at the Mouth of a certain Lake, call'd *Cataderbis*, well stor'd with Fish; a small Island nam'd *Margastana* lying opposite to it. Departing thence, the next Morning, they sail'd through some Shallows, the Channel being so narrow as not to admit of two Ships to sail a-breast. Huge Posts, or pieces of Timber are fix'd here and there, to point out the Way, in the same manner as those Sea-Marks upon the *Isthmus*, between the Island *Leucadia* and *Acarnania*, to guide Mariners, in their Course, and prevent their falling in among the Shallows. Those *Leucadian*-Shallows are between Sands, so that the Vessels, which happen to fall among them, are easily hoisted off, by the returning Tide. But this is a deep, stiff Clay, on each Hand; so that Ships sticking there, are never to be moved by any human Artifice; for long Poles thrust into it avail nothing; nor can the Sailors venture out of their Vessels, to recover their Poles, thus thrust down into the clayie bottom, because it yields to their Weight, and sucks them up to their Arm-pits. Thus they sailed six Hundred *Stadia*, with the greatest Difficulty, not daring to put into any Port to refresh themselves. All Night they kept off from the Shore, and all the next Day, 'till the Evening, when they had gain'd nine Hundred *Stadia*, and now

now approached the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*; and came to a small Village in the *Babylonian Territories*, named *Diridotis*; to which Place the *Arabian* Merchants bring Frankincense, and all other Spices, the Produce of their Country, to dispose of. From the Mouth of this River, up to *Babylon*, *Nearcbus* reckons it to be three Thousand, three Hundred *Stadia*.



### C H A P. XLII.

**H**E R E they received a Messenger, who brought them an Account of *Alexander's* March to *Susa*; wherefore steering their Course somewhat backward, they design'd to sail by the River <sup>1</sup>*Pasitigris*, to meet him: Wherefore, passing along the Coast, and keeping the Country of *Susa* on their left Hand, they passed through the Lake, by which the *Tigris* empties it self. This River has its Rise in *Armenia*, and flowing by *Ninus*, once a rich and populous City, gives the Name of *Mesopotamia*, to the Country lying betwixt it, and *Euphrates*. From this Lake to the River it self, is six Hundred *Stadia*, where is a Village of the *Susians*, called *Aginis*, five Hun-

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1 That the River here called *Pasitigris*, and the River *Eulaeus*, mentioned by *Arrian*, lib. viii. cap. 7. are the same, is evident, because the same Fleet which *Nearcbus* carried up the *Pasitigris* towards *Susa*, *Alexander* convey'd down the River *Eulaeus*, and passing out at the Mouth thereof, sailed up the *Tigris*, as far as the City *Opis*, where his old *Macedonian* Soldiers happening to mutiny, he ordered Thirteen of them to be put to Death. The City *Susa* is called *Sbusban*, by *Daniel*, and the River *Ulai* is there mentioned, *Dan.* chap. 8. vers. 2. which River I cannot forbear thinking the same with this *Eulaeus*. *Curtius* calls it *Choaspes*.

dred *Stadia* distant from *Susa*. The whole length of the *Sufian* Coast, to the Mouth of the *Pasitigris*, is <sup>2</sup> two Thousand *Stadia*. Thence, they sailed up the River *Pasitigris*, through a rich and populous Country, one Hundred and fifty *Stadia*; and there tarried expecting the return of those, whom *Nearchus* had sent to enquire where the King lay encamped. In the mean time, he offered Sacrifices to the Gods, by way of Thanksgiving, for the preservation of his Fleet, and exhibited Sports; the whole Army shewing extraordinary Signs of Joy. When News of *Alexander's* Approach arrived, they again sailed up the Stream, to a Bridge newly built, over which the King was to pass his Forces, in their March to *Susa*. Here the two Armies joyned. *Alexander* then offer'd Sacrifices, as well for the safety of the Naval Army, as the Land Forces, and exhibited various kinds of Sports. And wherever *Nearchus* directed his Steps, his Way was strow'd with Flowers and Garlands. After this, the King bestowed a Crown of Gold upon him, for the preservation of the Navy; and another upon *Leonnatus*, for the Victory which he had gain'd over the *Orite*, and other barbarous Nations: And thus was the Army convey'd safe through the Ocean, from the Mouth of the River *Indus*, to *Alexander*.

C H A P.

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2 The several distances which they sailed along the *Sufian* Coast, exactly agree with the whole distance here given, for

From the Mouth of the River *Arijs*. to *Cataderbis*, is 500 *Stadia*.  
 Thence, the first Days sail was 600  
 And the next Day and Night, they gain'd 900

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The whole distance 2000 *Stadia*.

Which is the length of the whole *Sufian* Coast, to *Diridotis*, at the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*.

And



## C H A P. LXIII.

THE Country which lies to the right Hand of the Red Sea, beyond the *Babylonian Territories*, belongs chiefly to *Arabia*, part of which borders upon the *Phænician*, and *Syro-Palestine Sea*; but towards the West, and the *Mediterranean*, *Ægypt* is adjacent to *Arabia*. The Gulph, which runs into the Land, from the Ocean, as far as *Ægypt*, manifestly shews the possibility of sailing from *Babylon* thither. But no Mortal ever yet durst sail to those Parts, by reason of the vast Heat of the Sun, and the desert Shores, unless he steer'd his Course by the middle of the Channel; for those remains of *Cambyses's Army*, who escap'd safe from *Ægypt* to *Susa*, and those who were dispatch'd by *Ptolemy, the Son of Lagus* to *Seleucus Nicanor* into *Babylonia*, travelled

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And now as I have presented my Readers with the several small distances which they sailed along each Coast, it may not be improper to add the length of each Coast, whereby we may come to a knowledge of the extent of the whole Voyage, and this I shall do in the same Method as before, for

The whole length of the Coast of the *Arabæ*, is 1000 *Stadia*,  
The length of the *Oritæ*, 1600

*Ictyophagi*, 10000

*Carmania*, 3700

*Persia*, 4400

*Susa*, 2000

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The length of the several Coasts added, make 22700 *Stadia*. Or 2837 English Miles, from the Mouth of the River *Indus*, to the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*, or the whole distance sailed, and thence 3300 Furlongs up the River, carried them to *Babylon*.

over

Over a certain *Isthmus of Arabia*, eight whole Days, in a desert Country wholly destitute of Water; but this they perform'd upon Camels, who carried Water upon their Backs, and they march'd by Night; for they were not able to stir abroad by Day, by reason of the burning Heat of the Sun. A Country therefore, lying to the Southwards of that *Isthmus*, where the *Arabian Gulph* joyns the *Red Sea*, must certainly be uninhabitable, when that which lies much more to the Northward, is desert, and wholly cover'd with Sand. However, Some, venturing upon a Voyage from that part of the *Arabian Gulph*, towards *Ægypt*, when they had coasted round the greatest part of *Arabia*, in hopes to reach the *Persian* or *Sufian* Shores, begun to be in want of Water, and therefore sailed back again. Those also whom *Alexander* dispatch'd from *Babylon*, to search the remotest Parts of those Countries, to the right Hand of the *Red Sea*, saw indeed, some Islands, and now and then ventured to land on the Continent; but the further side of that Promontory, which *Nearchus* assures us he saw, opposite to the Coast of *Carmania*, none ever could yet reach, by a Sea-Voyage. And truly I am inclin'd to believe, if that part of the Ocean had been Navigable, or those Coasts to have been come at, *Alexander's* Ambition would not have left them undiscover'd. *Hanno*, the *Lybian*, in a Voyage which he undertook from *Carthage* into the Ocean, beyond *Hercules's Pillars*, leaving *Africa* on the left Hand, continued his Course for five and thirty Days, towards the East; but when he began to steer Southward, he fell into great Straits for want of Water, besides the scorching Heats, like Showers of Fire, darting upon the Ocean, forced him to return. However, *Cyrene*, a City of *Lybia*, is an Exception to this Rule; for notwithstanding it is seated in the midst of vast Deserts, yet the Country round it is pleasant, fruitful, and well watered, abounding in shady Woods, and grassy

grassy Fields, and producing all sorts of Fruits and Cattle, as far as the Place where the *Sylphium* grows, but all beyond, is wholly desert, and overwhelm'd with Sand.

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I am of Opinion that *Arrian* has transcribed this whole Journal of *Nearchus*, Word for Word, because he adds, at the close of all, "This small Tract was written by me, who belong to *Alexander*, the Son of *Philip*, King of *Macedon*." This can be applicable to none but *Nearchus*. *Pliny* and *Strabo*, and sundry other Geographers, have been nibbling at it, and by their cutting, and curtailing, have spoiled it. But *Arrian* is abundantly fuller than any of them, and clearer than all of them, and, for that Reason, has less occasion for a Commentator.

*The End of the Indian History.*



AN



A N

# ACCOUNT

Of the Division of the

# EMPIRE,

And Conquests of

# ALEXANDER

AFTER HIS

# DEATH.

THE Reason why Arrian has made no mention of the Division of Alexander's Empire among his Captains, after his Death, in the History of Alexander's Expedition, was, because he wrote ten Books upon that very Subject, which the Injury of Time has deprived us of; the Loss of which Freinsheimius exceedingly laments. However, Photius, in his Bibliothec. lib. 92. has obliged us with a short Abridgment thereof; which, tho' it be not perhaps an hundred Part of the whole Work, yet it is much more full and exact than

than any other, upon the same Subject. I have therefore here presented my Readers with a Translation of Arrian's Account, from Photius's Abridgment, and added Notes and Observations by way of Comparison between him, and most other Authors, who have touch'd upon that Story.



The same Author (*Arrian*) wrote an Account of the Transactions after Alexander's Decease, in ten Books, wherein he comprehends the Sedition of the Army, and the Choice made of *Aridæus* (whom *Pbilinæ*, a *Thessalian* Woman bore to *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander*) to be their Monarch, on Condition, that the young *Alexander* which *Roxane* should bear, might reign with him. This was assented to, and accordingly comply'd with, as soon as the Child was born ; whereupon they again proclaim'd *Aridæus* by the Name of *Philip*. However, the Infantry disagreed with the Cavalry. The chief of the Captains of Horse, and those who sway'd the rest, were *Perdiccas*, the Son of *Orontes* ; and *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus* ; the next, *Lysemachus*, the Son of *Agathocles* ; *Aristonous*, the Son of *Piseus* ; *Pitbon*, the Son of *Crateas* ; *Seleucus*,

<sup>1</sup> *Aridæus* was set over the whole Empire, with a Royal Power, or rather the bare Name of King, according to *Curtius*, *Diodorus*, lib. xviii. cap. 2. *Appian*, *Dexippus* in *Photius*, lib. 82. *Eusebius*, *Arrian* in *Photius*, lib. 62. and the barbarous Latin Chronological Extract ; but the Author of the last named Extract having read that he was appointed Ruler over all *Macedonia*, imagined it only the *Macedonian* Kingdom, as contained within its ancient Limits, and that the whole Empire was divided into four Parts ; which Error he perhaps received from St. *Jerom*, who copied it from *Daniel*, cap. viii. whom he follows blindly, and at all adventures.

the Son of *Antiochus*, and *Eumenes*, the *Cardian*; and *Meleager*, commanded the Foot Forces. Several Offers of Accommodation were made by both Parties, and at last the Infantry, who had already made choice of a King, came to an Agreement with the Captains of the Cavalry, That 2 *Antipater* should be constituted General of the Forces in *Europe*; 3 *Craterus* Protector of *Aridæus*'s Kingdom; 4 *Perdiccas*, Commander

2 *Justin* attributes *Macedonia* and *Greece* to *Antipater*; *Diodorus*, *Macedonia*, and the neighbouring Nations; which is the same thing. *Dexippus*, in *Photius*, lib. 82. extends his Power over all *Macedonia* and *Greece*, as also over the *Illyrians*, *Triballi*, and *Agrians*, and all those over whom he had been deputed General by *Alexander*, in his Life-time. The same Author, in *Eusebius*, joyns his Son *Cassander* as sharer with him in the Government. *Arrian* elsewhere assures us, that the Country beyond *Thrace*, as also the *Illyrians*, *Triballi*, and *Agrians*, as far as the *Ceraunian Mountains*, with all *Greece*, fell under the Jurisdiction of *Antipater*. The barbarous Latin Chronologer asserts, that *Antipater* was ordered to rule over *Spain*, as far as the River *Alyus*, and the *Herculean Boundary*. But what he means by *Spain* here, is not easy to guess; sure he could not design *Iberia*, tho' I find it so noted in the Margin by a great Editor; but he was one who set so light by such Trifles, as not to think them worth his Consideration. Perhaps the Greek Author might have wrote τὴν Ἕπτα, that is, the Western Parts of the Empire were allotted to *Antipater*; which he changed to *Spain*, because he found *Spain* sometimes called by that Name. However, by the River *Alyus*, he seems to mean *Halys*, and by the *Herculean Limits*, the Pillars of *Hercules*. The Tables of *Eusebius* assign the Country of *Pontus* to *Antipater*, from what Authority I know not, for *Cedrenus* had his Account from them. However, *Antipater* soon after retained his first Sovereignty over *Europe*. See *Diodorus*, lib. xviii. and *Arrian*, lib. ix.

3 *Craterus*, the Son of *Alexander*, of *Orestis*, a City of *Macedonia*, (Arrian Indic. cap. xviii.) was ordered by *Alexander* to pass over into *Europe*, and take upon him the Government of the *Macedonians*, *Thebrians*, and *Thracians*, instead of *Antipater*, (Arrian, lib. viii. cap. 12.) but he dying in the mean time, *Craterus* was appointed Keeper of the Royal Treasury, (*Justin*) and ordered to have a joint Command over *Macedonia*, and the neighbouring Countries, with *Antipater*, (*Arrian*). He had also the Guardianship, of the King's Person assigned him, and the Oversight of whatever belonged to the Royal Palace. (*Dexippus*.)

4 *Perdiccas*, the Son of *Orontes*, a *Macedonian*, of *Orestis* (Arrian Indic. cap. xviii.) dividing the Empire at pleasure, (*Curtius*, *Arrian*,

Commander of the Troops which *Hephaestion* had (which was indeed to commit the Affairs of the whole Empire, and its safety, into his Hands) and 5 *Meleager* was to act as his Deputy, or Assistant. Whereupon *Perdiccas* afterwards making a feint of viewing the Army, seiz'd the chief Authors of the Sedition, and (as if King *Aridæus* had order'd it, even before his Face) put them to Death. This struck a Terrour into the rest; and soon after he slew *Meleager* also. Hereupon *Perdiccas* fell under the suspicion of all the rest, and he begun to be as jealous of them. However, he proceeded to nominate them to the Governments of Provinces, in the same manner as if *Aridæus* had commanded him; accordingly 6 *Ptolemy*,

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*Appian, Justin*) affymed the Post of attending upon the King, and commanding the Troops which followed him, that is, of being King himself. Whence *Cedrenus*, and *Iornandes*, in his *Get. cap. x.* supposed he had been really King of *Macedonia*, and they assign to him the Government of the *Atbenians*. However, by reason of his great Power, both *Arrian* and *Diodorus* call him the King's Deputy. The barbarous Latin Chronologer stiles him Commander in chief. *Dexippus*, in *Eusebius*, adds the greater *Pbrygia* to his Government, if that be really an Extract from *Dexippus*, for in *Ptolemy*, he agrees with *Arrian*.

5 *Meleager*, the Son of *Neoptolemus* (*Arrian Indic. cap. xviii.*) according to *Curtius* and *Arrian*, was slain before the Division was made, which is very reasonable to believe, for *Perdiccas* could have enjoy'd no such absolute Sway while he had lived. I therefore make no Wonder that Authors differ about the Province assigned to him. For, "Cedrenus, with the *Eusebian Tables*, beftow, *Paplagonia* upon him. *Diodorus, Lydia*. The barbarous Latin Chronologer, *Cælofuria*, and *Phænicia*. However, 'tis enough to say, he was otherwise disposed of, before the Division was made, and dead Men have no taste of Dignities.

6 *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*, of *Eordæum* (*Arrian Indic. cap. xviii.*) obtained the Government of *Ægypt*, and that part of *Africa* which had been conquered by the *Macedonians*. (*Cedrenus*, the *Eusebian Tables*, *Justin*, *Orosius*, *Constantinus Manasses*, *Diodorus*, *Dexippus* and *Arrian* in both Divisions, tells us almost the same thing.) The barbarous Latin Chronologer says, He, (namely *Perdiccas*) bestowed *Ægypt*. and the adjacent Countries, as far as the higher *Lybia*, on *Philip*, who was called *Ptolemy*; which he soon after, repeats in the same Words. He undoubtedly found it in the

*Geek*,

lemy, the Son of *Lagus*, was by him deputed to preside over *Ægypt* and *Lybia*, with that part of *Arabia*, adjacent to *Ægypt*; and <sup>7</sup> *Cleomenes*, who had been constituted Governor of *Ægypt*, by *Alexander*, was made *Ptolemy*'s Deputy. That part of *Syria*, which, lay under this District, was bestowed upon <sup>8</sup> *Laomedon*. <sup>9</sup> *Philotas* was made Prefect of *Cilicia*, and <sup>10</sup> *Pitbon*

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*Greek*, Πτολεμαῖς τὸ Λευκόμενον Φιλίππε, to *Ptolemy*, who was called the Son of *Philip*. That he was generally supposed to be the real Son of *Philip*, I have shewed in the Notes to *Arrian*'s Preface. *Antipater*, in his distribution of the Provinces, confirmed his Portion; for he would scarce have been able to have wrested it out of his Hands, he had acquired such a vast Power. (*Diodorus*, lib. xviii. 39. *Arrian*, lib. ix.) His Discendents enjoy'd the Sovereignty there, 'till the Days of *Augustus Cæsar*, and *Cleopatra* was the last of the Race of the *Ptolemies*.

<sup>7</sup> *Justin* tells us, that *Cleomenes* was dispatched to *Ptolemy*, to be invested in the Government of *Ægypt*, which had been allotted him. This *Cleomenes* had been before appointed Overseer of the Buildings of *Alexandria*, not as an Architect (for that would confound him with *Dinocrates*) but as Governor; or rather, as *Curtius* has it, as Collector of the Revenues of *Africa* and *Ægypt*. And as some Things in *Justin* are disputable, *Dexippus* may serve to explain, what the other gives us in obscure Terms. *Cleomenes*, says he, who was constituted Lieutenant of this Province by *Alexander*, was ordered to be *Ptolemy*'s Vice-gerent, or Deputy. This *Arrian* confirms. *Pausonius* adds, that he was afterwards slain by *Ptolemy*, for favouring *Perdiccas*.

<sup>8</sup> *Laomedon*, the *Mitylenæan*, was invested in the Government of *Syria* and *Phænicia*. (*Arrian*, *Curtius*, *Diodorus*, *Justin*, *Orosius*, *Dexippus*.) He was afterwards beaten out of it by *Ptolemy*. (*Diodorus*, lib. xviii. 43. *Appian*: *Mitbrid*.) *Antipater*, in the other Division, mentioned by *Arrian*, confirmed him in his Government. *Syria*, with *Phænicia*, and all the Countries thereabouts, were afterwards subdued entirely by *Seleucus*.

<sup>9</sup> *Philotas* had first, that part of *Pbrygia* which runs along the *Hellepon.* (*Diodorus*, xviii. 12.) Then *Cilicia* (*Arrian*, *Curtius*, *Diodorus*, *Dexippus*, *Justin*, *Orosius*.) The barbarous Latin Chronologer tells us, that He (*Perdiccas*) granted to *Philo*, *Cilicia*, and *Isauria*, with all the circumjacent Tract. However, that Province was soon after torn away from him. (*Justin*. lib. xiii. 6. 16.) by reason of his siding with *Antigonus*, as may be gathered from *Diodorus*, lib. xviii. 62. The whole was afterwards conquered by *Seleucus*.

10 *Python* of *Media*. 11 *Eumenes* the *Cardian*, received *Cappadocia*, and *Paplagonia*, with all the Country along the *Euxine Sea*, as far as *Trapezus*, a Colony of the *Sinopeans*. *Pamphylia*, and *Lycia*, with the greater *Pbrygia*, were given to 12 *Antigonus*; *Caria*,

10 *Python*, the Son of *Crateas*, or *Cratevas*, an *Alcomenean*. (*Arrian Indic. cap. 18.*) yet *lib. vi. cap. 28.* he calls him an *Eordæan*. *Diodorus*, 19. 14, says he was a *Parthian*; but it ought rather to be a *Partkinian*; which Country *Appian* takes notice of, in his *Illyrics*, and whom *Rheineccius* quotes in the Kingdom of *Illyria*, was deputed Governor over *Media*. (*Diodorus, Curtius, Dexippus, and Arrian*, in both Division,) Against all whom the Authority of *Cedrenus*, and the *Eusebian Tables*, who assign *Pbrygia* and *Lydia* to him, are of small Weight; or that of the barbarous Latin Chronologer, who gives him *Syria*, as far as *Mesopotamia*. *Media* had been before bestowed upon *Atropates* by *Alexander*, *Arrian, lib. iv. pag. 280. Blancard*. He was Governor thereof under *Darius*, *Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 8.* and held his Share first by permission of the *Macedonians*, and afterwards in spite of them, and it was afterwards called by his Name *Atropatia*. (*Strabo, lib. xi. Seleucus* seiz'd upon the rest, having slain *Nicanor*, *Antigonus*'s Deputy. (*Appian.*)

11 *Eumenes*, the Son of *Hieronymus*, the *Cardian*, (*Arrian Indic. cap. 18.*) was invested with the Government of *Cappadocia* and *Paplagonia*, with Orders to defend the Country as far as *Trapezus*, and wage War with *Ariarathes*, who alone refused to submit to the *Macedonians*, and held his Sovereignty, while *Alexander* was busy elsewhere. The barbarous Latin Chronologer says, that *Paplagonia*, in *Cappadocia* had *Eumenes* the Scribe for their King. *Justin* tells us the same Story; but the Supplement to *Eusebius* allows him only *Cappadocia*; wherewith *Cedrenus* agrees as usual. *Perdiccas* afterwards added both the *Carias* with *Lycia*, and *Pbrygia*, to his Kingdom. *Justin, lib. xiii. 6.* The Provinces of *Cappadocia* and *Paplagonia*, may be said to have been rather promised to, than bestowed upon *Eumenes*; for they were first in the Hands of an Enemy, namely, *Ariarathes*; and soon after he was slain, *Eumenes* was declared an Enemy by the *Macedonians*, whereupon they were given to one *Nicanor*; and last of all *Seleucus* seized them.

12 *Antigonus*, the Son of *Philip*, obtained the Government of *Pbrygia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Lycia*. (*Curtius, Diodorus, Appian, Arrian, lib. i. and ix. in Photius*, who adds *Lycaonia* to his Portion in the second Division) *Dexippus* assigns *Pamphylia* and *Cilicia* as far as *Pbrygia*, to him; but a Mistake has crept in there, by a repetition of the Word *γ*; and *γ κιλικια*; written for *γ λυκια*, because the same Author in *Eusebius*, positively assigns *Lycia*, and the *leſſeſ*

*Caria*, to 13 *Cassander*, *Lydia* to 14 *Menander*. That part of *Pbrygia*, which runs along the *Hellespont*, to 15 *Leonnatus*. *Calas* had obtain'd that Province of *Alexander* himself before, and it was afterwards committed to *Demarchus*. Thus was *Asia* distribut-ed among them, at that time.

In

lesser *Pbrygia* to him. *Cedrenus* gives him *Cilicia*, as far as Mount *Taurus*. *Justin*, lib. xiii. cap. 4. allows him only *Pbrygia*: And the barbarous Latin Chronologer mentions the rest. *Antigonus*, says he, had all the Country towards the North, and those towards *Hyrcania* assigned him. He afterwards ruled over the greatest part of *Asia*, as most of the above-cited Authors testify; and with them agree the *Eusebian Additions*, touching the Succession of the Kings of *Macedonia*.

13 *Cassander*, the Son of *Antipater*, was dispatched Governour of *Caria*. (*Diodorus*, *Curtius*, *Justin*, *Orosius*, *Arrian*, lib. i. in *Photius*) for in the second Division mentioned by *Arrian*, lib. ix. and in the Extract of *Dexippus*, it is falsely written *Aſander*, as *Andreas Schottus* has long ago remarked. The barbarous Latin Chronologer seems also to hint at *Caria*'s being given to *Cassander*, when he tells us, that the greater *Pbrygia* and *Cæsaria* were be-stowed upon *Deſander*. *Cedrenus* assigns *Lycia* upon the *Helle-spont* to him, or rather *Lycia*, and the *Hellepont*, as it appears in the *Eusebian Tables*. *Justin* speaks of his commanding the King's Life-Guards, which he might probably do afterwards, and *Justin* refer it to the wrong Time, for he was made General of the Horse by his Father. (*Arrian*, lib. ix.) and after his Father's Decease he obtained the Kingdom of *Macedonia*. And this might perhaps induce *Dexippus* in *Eusebius* to imagine that he was his Father's Colleague in the Government. This Province was afterwards given to *Eumenes*, according to *Justin*. lib. xiii. 6. but he lost both it and his Life in fighting against *Antigonus*.

14 *Menander* was sent into *Lydia*. (*Curtius*, *Justin*, *Dexippus*, *Arrian*) or rather sent back; for *Arrian* assures us, that *Alexander* had beftowed that Government upon him before, *vid. lib. iii. cap. 6.* *Diodorus* allots *Lydia* to *Meleager*, by mistake, no doubt, for *Meleager* was dead before; and the Additions to *Eusebius* with *Cedrenus*, give it to *Python*. *Antipater*, in the second Division mentioned by *Arrian*, lib. ix, assigned it to *Clitus*, and it was after-wards conquered by *Antigonus*.

15 *Leonnatus*, the Son of *Antæus*, the *Pellæan*. (*Arrian Indi. cap. 18.*) had the Government of the lesser *Pbrygia*, along the *Hellepont* beftowed upon him, (*Curtius*, *Justin*, *Diodorus*, *Arrian*, *Dexippus*.) *Probus* in *Eumenes*, tells us, that *Perdiccas* gave him the Dominion over that part of *Asia*, which lies between Mount

In *Europe*; *Tbrace*, with the *Cberroneſe*, and all the Kingdoms adjacent to *Tbrace*, as far as *Salmydeſſus*, a City upon the *Euxine Sea* were given to <sup>16</sup> *Lyſimachus*; but the Countries beyond *Tbrace*, namely, the *Illyrians*, *Triballi* and *Agrians*, as also *Macedonia* and *Epirus*, as far as the *Ceraunian Mountains*, with all *Greece*, were afſigned to *Craterus* and *Antipater*. Many Provinces remain'd as *Alexander* had left them, under their own Rulers, and for that Reason were not comprehended in this Diviſion. Mean while *Roxane* brought forth a Son, whom the Soldiers immediately declar'd King; and, indeed, all was full of Sedition from the time of *Alexander's* Deceafe; for *Antipater* wag'd War with the *Athenians*, and the rest of *Greece*, whose Forces *Leotbenes* commanded: At first he was reduc'd to great Straits, however afterwards, he gain'd the Victory, but with the Loss of *Leonnatus*, who brought him Succours. *Lyſimachus*, engag'd too rashly against *Scuthas* the *Tbracian*; but as his Numbers were ſmall they wereworſted, tho' they behav'd themſelves gallantly. *Perdiccas* made War againſt *Ariarathes*, King of *Cap-*

*Taurus* and the *Helleſpont*; and with him agree the *Eusebian Addiſions*; *Pausanias* in his *Attics*; and *Appian* in his *Syriacs*. The barbarous Latin Chronologer says, He ordered *Leon* to rule over *Pontos*, by which he muſt mean the *Helleſpont*. This Province was afterwards given to one *Aridaeus*, who transported the Body of *Alexander* from *Babylon*, into *Egypt*. (*Arrian, lib. ix. Diodorus.*) Tho' it is apparent from the laſt mentioned Author, that it was not *Aridaeus* the King, as *Justin* falſely affeſts, *lib. xiii. cap. 4.* but another of the ſame Name.

<sup>16</sup> *Lyſimachus*, the Son of *Agathocles*, a *Pellœan*, (*Arrian Indic. cap. 18.*) was ordered to take upon him the Government of *Tbrace*, and the *Pontic Countries* bordering thereupon. (*Curtius, Diodorus, Cedrenus.*) *Dexippus* in *Eusebius*, tells us, it was the Country on the right Hand, as one ſailed on the *Euxine Sea*; but the ſame Author in *Photius* gives him *Tbrace* and *Cberroneſe*; and *Arrian* here, adds the whole Tract as far as *Salmydeſſus*, on the *Euxine Sea*. He was after, taken Prisoner by *Seuthas*, a King over one of the free Nations there, (*Plutarch, Apoſthegm. cap. 49.*) but not ſlain, as the word *ἀνεψιον* in *Arrian*, ſeems to intimate, for we have frequent mention of him afterwards, and he was one of the five, who ſhared the beſt part of *Alexander's* Empire among them.

*padocia* (because he refus'd to receive the Commands of *Eumenes*, who was appointed their Governour) and having overcome him in two Battles, and taken him Prisoner, he hang'd him, and reslor'd *Eumenes* to his Government. *Craterus* having led some Auxiliary Forces to assist *Antipater* against *Greece*, was the cause of that Victory over the *Grecians*, for which Reason, they receiv'd the Commands of either of them, and obey'd their Orders without scruple. These Particulars are contained in the first five Books.

In his sixth Book, he acquaints us how *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides*, *Athenians*; with *Aristonicus* the *Marathonian*, and *Himaræus* the Brother of *Demetrius*, the *Pbalarean*, fled, and arriv'd first at *Ægina*, where, while they continu'd, the *Athenians* condemn'd them to Death, at the request of *Demades*; and *Antipater* took care to have the Decree put in execution. Then he relates how *Archias* the *Thurian*, who put them to Death, dy'd himself in the utmost Indigence and Infamy, and how *Demades* was shortly after convey'd into *Macedonia*, and slain by *Cassander*, his Son being first stabb'd in his Father's Arms. *Cassander* alledg'd, that this *Demades* had formerly injur'd his Father, when he wrote to *Perdiccas*, to save the *Grecian* States, who were only bound together by an old rotten Thread, meaning thereby to expose *Antipater*: That *Dinarchus*, the *Corinthian*, was the discloser of these Things, and *Demades*, who had been formerly guilty of Avarice, as well as Treason, and Treachery of all sorts, receiv'd the due Reward of his Works. He also assures us, that *Tibro*, the *Lacedæmonian*, flew *Harpalus* (who, while *Alexander* was yet alive, had stolen his Treasures, and fled away to *Athens*) and having seiz'd all the Money he had then left, escap'd first to *Cydonia*, a City of *Crete*, and afterwards, with six Thousand Men under his Command, pass'd over to *Cyrene*, where he was encounter'd by the *Cyrenean* and *Barcean* Exiles, and

where, after divers Skirmishes, and many Ambuscades, having sometimes the better, and sometimes the worse, he was, at last, seiz'd in his Flight, by some *Lybian Waggoners*, and convey'd to *Epicydes the Olyntian*, at *Teucbeira*; which City, *Opbellas*, a *Macedonian*, who had been sent to assist the *Cyreneans* by *Ptolemy, the Son of Lagus*, had committed to his Care. Whereupon the *Teucbeireans*, by *Opbellas's* Permission, scourg'd *Tibro* first, and then sent him away to be hung up upon a *Cross* at the Port of *Cyrene*. However, when the *Cyreneans* still persisted in their Rebellion, *Ptolemy* himself approach'd at last, and having pacified all the Troubles there, return'd home again.

*Perdiccas* designing Treachery against *Antigonus*, cited him to appear, but he being appriz'd of the Mischief, refus'd to obey the Summons; and hence arose Enmity between them. About this time *Jollas*, and *Archias* came to *Perdiccas*, from *Macedonia*, having brought *Nicæa*, the Daughter of *Antipater*, to him, for his Wife. *Olympias* also, the Mother of *Alexander the Great*, sent to him, to take her Daughter *Cleopatra*. *Eumenes the Cardian*, persuaded him to accept of *Cleopatra*, but by the Advice of his Brother *Alcetas*, he was rather inclin'd to marry *Nicæa*, which he accordingly did. A few Days after which, happen'd the Murther of *Cynane*, whom *Perdiccas*, and his Brother *Alcetas*, caused to be put to Death.

This *Cynane* was a Daughter of *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, by his Wife *Eurydice*, and Wife to that *Amyntas*, which *Alexander* had put to Death, immediately before he undertook his Expedition into *Asia*. That same *Amyntas*, was the Son of *Perdiccas*, *Philip's* Brother, and Cousin German to *Alexander*. Now *Cynane* had brought her Daughter *Adea* (who afterwards assum'd the Name of *Eurydice*) with a design of marrying her to *Aridæus*, (which was afterwards perform'd *Perdiccas* himself being active

active in the Affair) that by that means an Insurrection, which was then raised in *Macedonia*, on account of *Cynane's* Death, might be appeased, but it produc'd a quite contrary Effect. In the mean while, *Antigonus* fled into *Macedonia*, to *Antipater* and *Craterus*, and not only laid open the whole Story of the Treachery, which *Perdiccas* had intended against him; but protested that he design'd the same Mischief against them all. He also proceeded to paint forth the Murther of *Cynane*, in such dismal Colours, that he induc'd them to declare War against *Perdiccas*.

*Aridæus*, who had the Body of *Alexander* in his Custody, convey'd it, in spite of *Perdiccas*, from *Babylon*, through *Damascus*, to *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*, into *Ægypt*; and tho' he was attack'd several times, upon the Road, by *Polemon*, one of *Perdiccas's* Friends, yet he came safe, at last, to his Journey's end.

In the mean while, *Eumenes* brought Presents from *Perdiccas* to *Cleopatra*, who was then at *Sardis*; for *Perdiccas* was resolv'd to put away *Nicæa*, and marry *Cleopatra* in her stead. Which Resolution of his, was no sooner known (for *Menander*, the Governour of *Lydia*, signify'd it to *Antigonus*, and he gave notice thereof to *Antipater* and *Craterus*) but they were the more instigated to prosecute the War against him. Whereupon *Antipater* and *Craterus* mov'd forward to the *Cherrone*, where they pass'd the *Hellespont*, having deceiv'd the Guards by Messengers sent on purpose. They also dispatch'd Embassadors to *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*, who were of *Perdiccas's* Party, with whom *Neoptolemus* agreed, but *Eumenes* refused his Assent.

Hence, *Neoptolemus* fell under the suspicion of *Eumenes*, so that they wag'd War with each other, and a Battle ensuing, *Eumenes* was Victor; whereupon *Neoptolemus*, with a few Followers, fled to *Antipater* and *Craterus*; whom he wrought so far upon, that *Craterus* consented to join his Forces with his, in a War

a War against *Eumenes*: And accordingly a sharp Battle was soon after fought. *Eumenes* used all his Endeavours, before this Fight, that his Men should not know that *Craterus* fought against him; for fear, lest the Fame of his great Actions, should either induce them to desert their present Camp, and go over to him; or, if they tarried, should damp their Valour. However, his extraordinary Caution had its desired Effect, for here, he was also Victor. *Neopolemus* fell by *Eumenes*'s own Hand, in this Action: He was a stout Soldier, and a brave Commander. And *Craterus*, (notwithstanding he fought courageously against all who opposed him, and advanc'd boldly on purpose to make himself known) was slain by some *Paphlagonian* Soldiers, before he was known, tho' he had thrown off his Head-piece to shew his Face. However, the Infantry escaped out of the Battle, and return'd safe to *Antipater*; which Accident lessen'd his Fear, and gave him fresh Courage.

*Perdiccas* taking his Rout from *Damascus*, with a design of making War against *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*; advanc'd into *Egypt*, with the Captains, and the Forces under his Command, where he laid many Crimes to *Ptolemy*'s charge; but he clear'd himself so well, before the Multitude, of all that was objected against him, that his Accusation appear'd ill-grounded, and unjust. However, *Perdiccas* was resolv'd to prosecute the War, tho' his Troops were averse to it. Here he was routed; and having used those too severely, whom he perceived inclinable to go over to *Ptolemy*, and behaved himself more haughtily than became him, as a General, in his Camp, he was slain by his own Cavalry, during the Heat of the Battle. *Perdiccas* was no sooner taken off, than *Ptolemy* pass'd the *Nile*, and presented the Captains, with various Gifts, and complimented, and embrac'd not only them, but the other *Macedonian* Nobility, in a familiar and friendly manner: Yea, he shew'd an open Grief for the hard Fate of the very Friends

Friends of *Perdiccas*; and when some of the *Macedonians* shew'd themselves fearful, he used all his Arts and Endeavours to dissipate their Fears; by which means his Praife was in every Bodys Mouth, not only then, but ever after.

Then, in a full Convention, *Pithon* and *Aridæus* were declar'd, for the present, Commanders in chief of the Forces, instead of *Perdiccas*, and about fifty of the Adherents of *Eumenes* and *Alctas* condemned on account of *Craterus*'s Death, while the *Macedonians* were engag'd in Battle against each other. *Antigonus* was, about this time, call'd out of *Cyprus*, and *Antipater* order'd to haften to the Kings. But while they delay'd their coming, *Eurydice* would not suffer *Pithon*, nor *Aridæus* to act any thing without her Consent: This they bore patiently for some time, but, at last, assur'd her plainly, that she had no busines to concern her self with the Affairs of the State, for they would take the Administration upon themselves, 'till *Antigonus* and *Antipater* arriv'd: When they came, the chief Authority was committed to *Antipater*.

The Army then requiring the Military Stipends which had been promis'd them by *Alexander*, *Antipater* (as he was unable to satisfy them) assured them, their Requests were justly grounded, and as he was not willing to incur their Displeasure, he would use his utmost Endeavours that the Royal Treasury, as well as other Places, where Riches were concealed, should be searched to satisfy them. However, this Speech of his was so ill relish'd by the Army, that when *Eurydice* also begun to listen to Accusations against him, the Soldiery were in a Rage, and an Insurrection ensued: Whereupon she made an Oration against him, which *Asclepiodorus*, the Scribe, took care to record, and *Attalus* also joyn'd with her, insomuch, that *Antipater* hardly escap'd with Life, and had certainly been slain, had not *Antigonus* and *Seleucus*, whose Aid he had requested, taken

taken his part among the enrag'd Multitude ; and the saving his Life, had like to have cost them theirs. However, *Antipater* having thus escaped Death, hastened to his own Army, where he called the chief Commanders of the Horse before him, who obey'd his Summons, and the Infurrection being just quell'd, they reinstated him in his former Post, and committed the chief Management of Affairs into his Hands,

Then, and there, he made a new Division of *Asia*, wherein he partly confirm'd the former, and partly annull'd it, according as the Exigency of Affairs requir'd. For, in the first place, *Ægypt* with *Lybia*, and all the vast Waite beyond it, and whatever else had been acquired to the Westward, he assigned to *Ptolemy*. *Syria* to *Laomedon*, the *Mitylenæan*. *Cilicia* to <sup>17</sup> *Pholoxenus*, for he held it before. Among the higher Provinces, *Mesopotamia* and *Arbelitis* were bestowed on <sup>18</sup> *Amphimachus*, the King's Bro-

<sup>17</sup> All Authors, except *Arrian*, confound these two Divisions of the Provinces, and not one of them makes the least mention of any Distribution which *Antipater* made. 'Tis true, he confirm'd most of those whom *Perdiccas* had preferred before: But however, many of them had been cut off in the interim; and the few which he displaced, caused a considerable Difference between the two Divisions, as is apparent by comparing *Arrian*, *lib. i.* with *Arrian*, *lib. ix.* I should never have suspected there had been any Mistake in this Name of *Philoxenus* (because *Justin* mentions him as deputed Governour over *Cilicia*, *lib. xiii. cap. 6.* and *Plutarch* and *Arrian* both remember him) did not *Arrian* tell us expressly here, that he had *Cilicia* before. Now when this could be, I know not. *Alexander* never bestowed it upon him, during his Life, and *Perdiccas* gave it to *Philotas*; for which Reason, I imagine *Antipater* confirmed *Perdiccas*'s Choice, and only sent *Philotas* back to his Government.

<sup>18</sup> *Mesopotamia* was first given to *Arcesilaus*, (*Diodorus*, *Cedrenus*, and *Justin*.) *Dexippus* calls him *Archelaus*, and *Orofus*, *Arcelaus*; so that it is very probable it might be *Archelaus*, the Son of *Andracles*, mentioned by *Arrian*, *lib. iii. cap. 29.* or *Archelaus*, the Son of *Theodorus*, *lib. iii. cap. 16.* *Amphimachus* succeeded him; and *Blitor*, by the appointment of *Antigonus*, succeeded *Amphimachus*, but at last it fell under the Jurisdiction of *Seleucus*.

ther: *Babylonia*, on 19 *Seleucus*. The Prefecture of all the Province of *Susa*, on 20 *Antigenes*, who was Captain of the *Macedonian Argyraspide*, and had first opposed *Perdiccas*. 21 *Peucestes* was confirm'd in his Government of *Perſis*. 22 *Tlepolemus* in *Carmania*,

19 *Seleucus*, the Son of *Antiochus*. (*Justin*, lib. xv. cap. 4.) enjoy'd *Syria* and *Babylon*. (*Cedrenus*, The Additions to *Eusebius Dexippus*, the barbarous Latin Chronologer, *Appian*.) This *Arrian* and *Diodorus* assure us, happened not 'till the second Division: tho' *L. Ampelius* mistakes it for the first; and undoubtedly *Archon* had the Government of the Province of *Babylon* granted him by *Perdiccas*. And in this Division he was promoted to the Command of the Cavalry of the Allies, a Post of the highest Honour, which *Hephæstion* first held, and after him, *Perdiccas*. *Appian* calls him General of the Horse of the Allies, and so does *Diodorus*. (See also *Dexippus* and *Arrian*) for which Reason *Justin* calls his Office the chief Tribuneship of the Camp. Beginning thus with *Babylon*, he afterwards held the Kingdom of *Perſis*, and enlarged the Bounds of his Empire wonderfully; so that he reigned over more Nations than any other of *Alexander's Generals*. *Marcell.* lib. xiv. cap. 26. *Appian* in *Syriac*.

20 *Antigenes*, as the Reward of his Services, had the Prefecture of the Province of *Susa* conferred upon him, by *Antipater*. *Diodorus* has committed an evident Mistake, lib. xviii. 39. by calling him *Antigonus*. And *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 14. 15. has been guilty of the same. *Diodorus* speaks of his Province, lib. xviii. 62. That he was a *Pellenæan* may be gathered from *Plutarch*, *de fortunâ Alexandri*, 11. 15. and 16. Unless perhaps it ought to be read *Pelæan*.

21 *Peucestes*, the Son of *Alexander*, the *Miezaean* (*Arrian Indic.* cap. 18.) was constituted Governor of *Perſis*, by *Alexander the Great*. (*Arrian*, lib. vi. cap. 30.) and continued in his Province, (*Diodorus*, *Justin* amended.) The barbarous Latin Chronologer tells us, that He (*Perdiccas*) bestowed all *Perſis* upon *Pexus*. *Antipater*, in his Division, confirmed him in the Government. Some pretend that *Tripolemus* (by whom they seem to aim at *Tlepolemus*) was nominated to this Province; but they are mistaken, for he was promoted to *Carmania*. The whole at last, fell into the Hands of *Seleucus*, with all the Countries round it.

22 *Tlepolemus*, the Son of *Pythopbanes*, was promoted to the Government of *Carmania*, by *Alexander*. (*Arrian*, lib. vi. cap. 27.) Wherefore *Cedrenus* is in an Error, in attributing *Perſis* to him, by the Name of *Tripolemus*, tho' he copied the *Eusebian Additions*. That

mania, and Pitbon in that of Media, as far as the Caspian Streights. 23 Philip in Parthia. 24 Stasander in that of the Arii and Drangæ. 25 Stasanor the Sorian,

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That *Carmania* was bestowed upon him by *Perdiccas*, is manifest from *Diodorus*. The barbarous Latin Chronologer assigns *Germania* (*Carmania*) to *Tripolemus* (*Tlepolemus*.) And *Dexippus* gives it to *Neoptolemus*; but that both these Names are corrupt, is evident from what has been already said; as also from this Passage in *Arrian*, and *Diodorus*, lib. xviii, 34. who there assures us, that this Province was confirmed to him by *Antipater*. However, he is also called *Palemon*, by the same Author, lib. xix. cap. 14. And to confess the Truth, it is difficult to distinguish this *Carmania* of *Tlepolemus* from *Armenia*, which was assigned to *Neoptolemus*, the Names of these two Men, and their Governments being so apt to be confounded, by their likeness in Sound. This Province was afterwards seized by *Seleucus*.

23 The Government of *Parthia*, was, by *Alexander*, first committed to *Pbratapernes*, who held it under *Darius*. (*Arrian*, lib. iii. cap. 8.) and was afterwards bestowed upon this *Philip* by *Antipater*. *Cedrenus* tells us, that *Philip* was set over the *Drangæ*, and he copied after the *Eusebian* Additions. *Diodorus* assigns *Bactria* and *Sogdia* to him. The barbarous Latin Chronologer calls him *Philip* the *Less*; and says, *Perdiccas* bestowed the Government of *Togidiana* (*Sogdiana*) upon him; and *Dexippus* and *Justin* agree with him, if you read *Philip* received *Sogdia*, *Stagnor*, *Parthia* and *Pbratapernes*, *Hyrcania*; which reading will be a means of reconciling him as well with other Authors, as himself. But if we rather chouse to join the *Parthians* with *Philip*, then it must be understood of the latter Division made here by *Antipater*. This whole Province fell, at last, into the Power of *Seleucus*.

24 *Stasander* the *Cyprian*, obtained *Aria* and *Drangiana* from *Antipater*, in the second Division. *Diodorus*, lib. xix. 14. *Arrian* tells us, this was only a Confirmation of his Commission, for he held them before.

25 *Stasanor* of *Soli*, a City in the same Island. (*Diodorus*, *Dexippus*, *Justin*) afterwards received *Bactria* and *Sogdia*. *Diodorus*. The barbarous Latin Chronologer obtrudes *Arabia* upon us instead of *Aria*, and tells us, that *Perdiccas* gave all *Arabia* to *Stasanor*. However after all, I am apt to suspect, that the former Name of *Stasander*, is a Corruption, and ought to be *Stasanor*; for that he was made Governor there by *Alexander* himself in the room of *Arsames*, is evident from *Arrian*, lib. iv. pag. 253. *Blancard*. and lib. vi. cap. 27. So that they may perhaps, both be the same Person, tho' they are thus distinguished by *Arrian* and *Diodorus*.

*tsian*, over *Bastria* and *Sogdia*, and 26 *Sybirtius* over the *Aracboti*. The Country of the *Parapamisans*, was bestowed upon 27 *Oxyartes*, the Father of *Roxane*, and the Skirts of *India*, adjacent to Mount *Parapamisus*, on 28 *Pitbon* the Son of *Agenor*. As to the Countries beyond that, those on the River *Indus*, with

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*Diodorus*. The Names are so near alike, and the Countries being the same, besides their Provinces bordering upon each other, and their being appointed to succeed each other, induce me to suspect them to be the same, notwithstanding *Freinsheimius's* Opinion to the contrary.

26 *Sibyrtius*; (whom *Diodorus*, lib. xix. 14. calls *Sibyritius*) gain'd the Provinces of *Aracbosia* and *Gadrosia*. (*Diodorus*, *Dexippus*, *Justin*.) The barbarous Latin Chronologer tells us, he ordered *Sabartas* to govern *Aracbosia* and *Cedrusia*. *Antipater* confirmed him in his Government. (*Arrian*, lib. ix.) *Antigonus* gave him the Command of the *Argyrapideæ*, who had betray'd *Eumenes*. (*Plutarch*, *Eumen.* cap. 34.) *Justin*, indeed, calls him *Ibyrtius*; but *Bongar-fius* assures us we ought to read *Sibyrtius* in that place. Both these Provinces afterwards fell into the Hands of *Seleucus*.

27 *Oxyartes* or *Oxatbres*, the *Bastrian*, Father-in-Law to *Alexander*, obtained *Bastriana*, according to the Additions of *Eusebius*, and *Cedrenus*. The *Parapamisans*, according to *Diodorus*, lib. xix. 14. who makes him King of the *Bastrians*. The barbarous Latin Chronologer tells us, he ordered *Oxydarcus* to reign over *Parapamisodus*. *Dexippus*, *Arrian* and *Justin* agree, if you read *Oxyartes* received the *Parapamisadeæ*, which border upon Mount *Caucasus*; and this *Bongar-fius* perceived from *Diodorus*. He seems to have been afterwards driven out of his Dominions by *Sandracottus*.

28 *Pitbon*, the Son of *Agenor*, (which Name is often written *Ptybon*) of whom the barbarous Latin Chronologer says, he order'd, that That part of *India*, which lies between the River *Indus* and *Hydasper*, should be governed by *Ptybon*. This may be understood from *Dexippus*. One *Pitbon*, says he, (the Son of *Agenor*, for he had spoke of the Son of *Crates* before) ruled over the Countries adjacent to them (*Porus* and *Taxiles*) except the *Parapamisans*. (*Justin*, *Orofus*.) *Pitbon*, the Son of *Agenor*, was sent to the *Indian Colonies*; in which Passage *Justin* confounds him with the other *Pitbon*. *Antipater* confirmed him in his Province, *Alexander* had first bestowed it upon him. (*Arrian*, lib. vi. cap. 15. "Tis very likely that *Sandracottus* seized also upon his Territories, as he did upon those of *Oxyartes*.

the City *Pattala* (the Capital of that part of *India*) were assign'd to *29 Porus*. Those upon the *Hydaspes* to *30 Taxiles*, the *Indian*; for it was deem'd no easy Matter to dispossess those, who had been confirmed in their Territories by *Alexander* himself, their Power was grown so strong. Of the Countries to the Northward of Mount *Taurus*; *Cappadocia* was assigned to *31 Nicanor*: The greater *Pbrygia*, *Lycaonia*, *Pampbylia*, and *Lycia*, as before, to *Antigonus*.

*29 Porus* retained his own Kingdom. *Justin*; *Orosius* obscurely; but *Dexippus* expressly. *Arrian* here assigns the Reason why no Alterations were made in the Provinces of *India*, namely, because, they were not able to dispossess the old Governors, if they would; so that after *Alexander's* Death, the *Macedonians*, in effect, lost all Power there. *Diodorus*, lib. xviii. 39. agrees with *Arrian*.

*30 Taxiles* retained his Sovereignty as well as *Porus*. Howbeit I cannot here pass by what seems to me an Error in *Arrian*; or rather in *Photius*, or the Transcribers, or, perhaps, the Editors; for it is here said, *Those Countries upon the River Indus, with the City Pattala, were assigned to Porus; and the Countries upon the Hydaspes to Taxiles the Indian*. Whereas, the very reverse was true, because *Porus's* own Dominions lay between the *Hydaspes* and *Acesines*, and the Territories of the other *Porus*, which *Alexander* bestowed upon him, lay between the *Acesines* and *Hydaspes*; and the Country of *Taxiles*, between the *Indus* and *Hydaspes*: Perhaps the whole Error lies only in misplacing two Words, and it ought to be read, *Those Countries upon the River Indus, with the City Pattala, were assigned to Taxiles, and those upon the Hydaspes, to Porus the Indian*. That it was so in fact, is certain; for neither *Perdiccas*, nor *Antipater* made any Alterations in the *Indian* Governments; and the Reason which *Arrian* assigns for it, is a substantial one, because, says he, they could not if they would; and tho' *Alexander* added a little to *Taxiles* his Territories, and a vast deal to those of *Porus*, yet they each kept their old Dominions, besides the new ones assigned them.

*31* The Province of *Cappadocia* was first bestowed upon *Eumenes*, and conquered for him by *Perdiccas*. Some time after which, *Eumenes* was proclaim'd an Enemy, and *Nicanor* substituted by *Antipater*, to succeed him. (See also *Diodor.* lib. xviii. 39. and *Appian de Bello Mithrid.*) It came at last into the Possession of *Seleucus*.

*Caria* to 32 *Asander*. 33 *Lydia* to *Clitus*, and the *Pbrygia* along the *Hellefond*, to 34 *Aridæus*. *Antigenes* was deputed Collector of the Tribute in the Province of *Suſa*, and three Thousand of those *Macedonians*, who were the most ready to mutiny appointed to attend him. Moreover, he nominated *Autolychus*, the Son of *Agathocles*; *Amyntas*, the Son of *Alexander*, and Brother of *Peuceſtes*; *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Ptolemy*; and *Alexander*, the Son of *Polyperchon*, the Guards to surround the King's Person. To his Son *Cassander* he gave the Command of the Horse; to *Antigonus*, those Troops which had been before assigned to *Perdiccas*, and the Care and Custody of the King's Persons, with Orders to prosecute the War against *Eumenes*. Which done, *Antipater* himself departed home, much applauded by all, for his wife and prudent Management: And this concludes the Ninth Book.

32 I have already taken Notice that this is no more than a Corruption, and that it ought to be *Cassander*. He was the Son of *Antipater*. *Perdiccas* bestowed this Province upon him: And his Father, in his Second Diviſion, confirmed him in it. See the Observations upon *Cassander*.

33 *Clitus* obtained *Lydia* from *Antipater*. *Diodorus* 18, 39. This can be no other than that proud Spark, whom *Plutarch* gives us an account of in his Treatise, *De Fortunâ Alexandri*, 11, 12. and *Justin*, lib. 13. 6. 16 confirms it, when he says, the Care of the Fleet was committed to *Clitus*: for then he gained the Naval Victory, which both *Plutarch* and *Justin* take notice of, *vid. Diodor.* 18. 72. *Antigonus*, at last, expelled *Clitus*, and seized upon it himself.

34 This was not *Aridæus* the King, but another of the same Name. See the Observations at *Leonnatus*, N<sup>o</sup>. 15. And here we must not forget to acquaint our Readers, that the greatest part of all these ſeparate Provinces were, in a ſhort time, swallowed up in a few large Kingdoms, as that of *Macedonia* held by *Antipater*; *Asia* by *Antigonus*; *Ægypt* by *Ptolemy*; *Syria* by *Seleucus*; *Thrace* by *Lyſimachus*; and *India* by *Sandracottus*. Theſe far exceeded all their fellow Soldiers, both in Power, and the length of their Lives. The Truth is, they cut moſt of the reſt off, and ſeized upon their Territories, and thereby augmented their own.

His Tenth gives us an Account how *Eumenes* having receiv'd Intelligence of what had befallen *Perdiccas*, and that he was declar'd an Enemy by the *Macedonians*, made all the necessary Preparations for a War ; and how *Alcetas*, the Brother of *Perdiccas*, on that very Account, had fled to him for Shelter, and *Attalus*, who had been one of the Ringleaders of the Revolt from *Antipater*, came and join'd with these Exiles ; so that they, at length, rais'd an Army of about ten Thousand Foot, and eight Hundred Horse, with which Forces they first invaded *Cydonia*, *Caunus*, and *Rhodes* ; but the *Rhodians* under the Command of *Demaratus*, the Admiral of their Fleet, repulsed them. He then informs us, that *Antipater*, when he march'd to *Sardis*, was on the very point of coming to Blows with *Eumenes*. But *Cleopatra* the Sister of *Alexander* the Great, by her Intreaties, wrought upon *Eumenes* to depart out of the City ; for she was afraid that the common People in *Macedonia* should imagine that she was the occasion of a Battle between them, if any should happen. Howbeit, when *Antipater* arriv'd, he threaten'd her, and loaded her with many Reproaches for her Friendship, and Familiarity with *Eumenes* and *Perdiccas*. He then adds, that she defended herself bravely, and beyond what could be expected from one of her Sex, and not only answer'd his Objections against her, but laid a fresh Number of Crimes to his Charge. However, at last, they parted perfectly reconciled. Then he acquaints us how *Eumenes* having made a sudden Irruption into his Enemies Country, took much Spoil, with a vast quantity of Silver, wherewith he exceedingly enriched his Followers ; as also, how he dispatch'd Messengers to *Alcetas*, and his Friends, to draw all their Forces together, that they might thereby be able to make Head against the common Enemy. But they having contrary Sentiments, refused to come into his Measures. He adds, that *Antipater* durst not yet pretend to engage with *Eumenes*

*Eumenes*, but dispatch'd 35 *Axander* to fight with *Attalus* and *Aetos*. Their Forces were pretty nigh equal, but *Axander* was oblig'd to retire with Loss. That *Cassander* had hitherto been at Difference with *Antigonus*; but upon the Injunction of his Father *Antipater*, he laid aside all former Grudges. How *Cassander* meeting his Father afterwards in *Pbrygia*, advis'd him not to keep at two great distance from the Kings, and especially to have a watchful Eye upon *Antigonus*. But he, by his well-tim'd Prudence, his courtly Complaisance, and other Virtues, entirely took away all suspicion of Guilt; whereupon *Antipater* being perfectly appeased, and wholly reconciled to him, committed those Forces which he had convey'd into *Asia*, consisting of eight Thousand five Hundred *Macedonian* Foot, and the same Number of foreign Horse, to his Charge; as also half the Elephants (which was Seventy) to enable him to push on the War against *Eumenes*: And thus, he assures us *Antigonus* begun the War. *Antipater* then taking with him the two Kings, and the rest of the Forces, made a feint, as tho' he would have pass'd over into *Macedonia*, but the Army again mutined, and demanded their Arrears; whereupon *Antipater* promis'd, that when he came to *Abydus*, he would take care to satisfy them, by paying them the whole, or, at least, the greatest part thereof. They were cajol'd with these fair Promises, and march'd forward quietly to *Abydus*; from whence he, with the two Kings, having deceiv'd his Soldiers, pass'd over the *Hellespont*, by Night, to *Lysimachus*; And the Army pass'd it the next Day, being pretty quiet for the present, as to the payment of their Arrears. And thus ends his tenth Book.

*Pbotius* then adds a fine Character of *Arrian*, and his Writings, which I have inserted in the Preface, and for that reason shall not repeat it here.

35 This ought undoubtedly to be *Cassander*, and so this Name is to be read both before, and after this place.

R A D E R U S's  
T A B L E S  
O F T H E

*Division of the Macedonian Empire among ALEX-  
ANDER's Followers, after his Death.*

THE Authors who have treated upon this Subject, are *Diodorus Siculus*, in his eighteenth Book: *Dexippus*, and *Arrian*, in *Photius*: *Justin* at the close of his thirteenth Book; and *Orosius* in the last Chapter of his third Book. We have also the Prophecies of *Daniel*, and some Particulars, towards the beginning of the *Maccabees*. These we have placed in Tables, that every thing may appear more plain and evident. This Method *Andreas Schottus* first took, and publish'd Tables in his Translation of *Photius*; and what he has omitted, we shall add, beginning with *Arrian*; next proceeding to those of *C. Curtius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dexippus*, *Justin*, *Orosius*, &c.

*The Division of the Provinces of Alexander's Empire by PERDICAS, according to Arrian, in Photius, Lib. xcii.*

When the Infantry and Cavalry came to an Agreement, *Aridæus* was declar'd King, by the Name of *Philip*, and *Alexander*, the Son of *Roxane*, his Co-partner in the Empire.

*Anisipates*

*Antipater* was appointed General of the Army in Europe.

*Craterus*, Protector of *Aridæus*'s Kingdom.

*Perdiccas*, Captain-General of the Forces, in the Room of *Hephæstion*.

*Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*,

*Cleomenes*,

*Laomedon*,

*Philotas*.

*Pitbon* the Son of *Crateas*,

*Eumenes* the Cardian,

*Antigonus*,

*Cassander*,

*Menander*,

*Leonnatus*,

Was ordered to govern

*Egypt*, *Libya*, and the Parts of *Arabia*, contiguous to *Egypt*. As Deputy to *Ptolemy*.

*Syria*.

*Cilicia*.

*Media*.

*Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and the Countries along the *Euxine* Sea, as far as *Trapezus*.

*Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, and the greater *Pbrygia*.

*Caria*.

*Lydia*.

*Pbrygia* along the *Hellespont*.

And thus was *Asia* divided among them.

### In EUROPE.

*Lysimachus*,

Had the Government of

*Tbrace*, the *Cherronese*, and all the Countries adjacent to *Tbrace*, as far as *Salmydæsus* upon the *Euxine* Sea.

*Craterus*, and  
*Antipater*,

All the Countries beyond *Tbrace*, with the *Illyrians*, *Triballi*, and *Agrians*; as also *Macedonia*, and *Epirus*, as far as the *Ceraunian Mountains*; and all *Greece*.

*The other Division of the Provinces, by ANTIPATER,  
from Artian, lib. ix. in Phocius.*

*Ptolemy.*

*Laomedon,*

<sup>1</sup> *Pbilozenus,*

*Ampbimachus.*

*Seleucus,*

*Antigenes,*

*Peucestes,*

*Tlepolemus,*

*Pitbon, the Son  
of Crates,*

*Philip.*

<sup>2</sup> *Stasander.*

*Stasenor,*

*Sybirtius,*

*Oxyartes, Father  
to Roxane,*

*Pitbon, the Son  
of Agenor,*

Was constituted Governor of

*Egypt, Lybia, and all the waste  
Countries beyond them, so the  
Westward.*

*Syria.*

*Cilicia.*

*Mesopotamia, and Armenia.*

*Babylonia.*

*Susiana, and Collector of the Tri-  
butes of that Province.*

*Perpis.*

*Carmania.*

*Media, as far as the Caspian  
Strait.*

*Parthia.*

*Aria and Drangiana.*

*Bactria and Sogdia.*

*Arachosia.*

*The Parapamisans.*

*The Indians adjacent to Para-  
misis.*

<sup>1</sup> *Pbilozenus*, is mentioned twice or thrice by *Arran* in the Body  
of his Work; as also by *Platarch*; however, I fancy it is an Error  
here, and ought to be *Pbilotus*.

<sup>2</sup> I must needs say, I do not approve of the Name of *Stasander*  
here, because it is altogether unknown, and I can think it nothing  
but a Corruption. I had therefore much rather here adhere to *Di-  
dorus*, who gives *Mesaland Drangiana* to *Stasenor*, and *Bactria and  
Sogdia* to *Philip*.

|   |  |                             |  |
|---|--|-----------------------------|--|
| 3 | Porus, the Indian,<br>Taxiles, the Indian,<br>Nicanor,<br>Antigonus, | was constituted Governor of | The Countries upon the River Indus, with the City <i>Pattala</i> .<br>The Countries upon the River <i>Hydaspes</i> .<br><i>Cappadocia</i> .<br>The greater <i>Phrygia</i> , <i>Lycaonia</i> , <i>Pamphylia</i> , and <i>Lycia</i> , as before. |
| 4 | Alexander,<br>Clitus,<br>Aridaeus,                                   |                             | <i>Caria</i> .<br><i>Lydia</i> .<br><i>Phrygia</i> , along the <i>Hellespont</i> .   |
|   |  |                             |  |
|   |  |                             |  |

|   |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|
| 5 | Autolycus, the Son of Agatocles.<br>Amyntas, the Son of Alexander, and Brother of Peucestes.<br>Ptolemy, the Son of Ptolemy.<br>Alexander, the Son of Polyperchon. | Were appointed the King's Body-Guards.   |  |
|   |  |  |  |
|   | <i>Cassander</i> , the Son of Antipater,<br><i>Antigonus</i> ,   | The Command of the Horse.  |  |
|   |  | The Command of the Forces in the room of <i>Perdiccas</i> , and the King's Guards. |  |

3 This must be an Error here, as well as in *Dexippus*: The Countries between the *Hydaspes* and *Acesines*, were *Porus*'s own Dominions, and *Alexander* gave him those between the *Acesines* and *Hydrioticis*, which belonged to the other *Porus*; but the Countries upon the River *Indus*, were the Hereditary Dominions of Taxiles. This is confirmed by *Diodorus*, *Justin*, and *Orosius*.

4 This is an Error, and should be *Cassander*. *Arrian*, indeed mentions one *Alexander* several times in his Work, but he has nothing to do here.

5 The Names of few or none of these, are mentioned by any other Author, and much less their Employments.

( The Distribution of the Provinces according to Curtius,  
lib. x.

The King.  
Ptolemy,

Laomedon,  
Philotas,  
Antigonus,

Cassander,  
Menander,  
Leonnatus,

Eumenes,

Pitbon,  
Lysimachus,

Perdiccas,

The supreme Command.

Ægypt, with all the Countries of  
Africa, which were subdued,

Syria and Phœnicia.

Cilicia.

Lycia, Pamphylia, and the greater  
Pbrygia.

Caria.

Lydia,

Pbrygia the Lesser, upon the  
Hellefpon.

Cappadocia, and Paplagonia,  
as far as Trapezus.

Media.

Tbrace, with the Pontic Na-  
tions adjacent thereto.

The chief Command of the  
Forces which attended the  
King.

Enjoy'd

( The Partition of the Provinces according to Diodorus  
Siculus, lib. xviii. pag. 587.

The Macedonians, says he, having chosen Meleager their General, advanced against those who opposed their Measures: And when the King's Guards marched out of Babylon, and made Preparations to attack them, they who were the most popular among both

1. The Division of Curtius is short and sweet. He has given us the Names and Governments of about a dozen of Alexander's chief Officers; and this may be said of him here, which can scarce safely be said any where else, that (setting aside his Omissions) he has not committed so much as one Error in twelve Lines.

Parties, persuaded them to come to an Accommodation. And accordingly they chose *Aridæus*, the Son of *Philip* (who also assumed the Name of *Philip*) their King ; and *Perdiccas* (on whom *Alexander* had bestowed his Ring at his Death) Administrator of the Kingdom : And order'd *Alexander*'s chief Friends and Captains, to take upon them the Government of Provinces, and yield Obedience to the King and *Perdiccas*. He (*Perdiccas*) having obtain'd the supreme Power, call'd a Council of the chief Officers, and distribut'd the Empire as follows,

*Aridæus* was King.

|  |                     |   |
|--|---------------------|---|
| To <i>Ptolemy</i> ,  | In Asia he gave     | <i>Egypt</i> .  |
| <i>Pytho</i> ,   |                     | <i>Media</i> .  |
| <i>Eumenes</i> ,   |                     | <i>Paphlagonia</i> with <i>Cappadocia</i> , and the neighbouring Countries. |
| <i>Antigonus</i> ,   |                     | <i>Pamphylia</i> , <i>Lycia</i> , and the greater <i>Pbrygia</i> .          |
| <i>Cassander</i> ,   |                     | <i>Caria</i> .  |
| 1 <i>Meleager</i> ,  | In Europe he gave   | <i>Lydia</i> .  |
| <i>Leonnatus</i> ,   |                     | <i>Pbrygia</i> upon the <i>Hellefpon</i> .                                  |
| To <i>Lysimachus</i> ,   | { In Europe he gave | <i>Tbrace</i> , with the adjacent Nations, as far as the Sea.               |
| <i>Antipater</i> ,   |                     | <i>Macedonia</i> , with the neighbouring Countries.                         |
| To the rest of the Officers he distributed the other Provinces in <i>Asia</i> ; and first, |                     |   |
| To <i>Oxyartes</i> ,<br>Father-in-Law to <i>Alexander</i> ,                                | { he gave           | <i>Caucasus</i> , and the <i>Parapamisians</i> .                            |
| <i>Sybirtius</i> ,   |                     | <i>Arachosia</i> and <i>Gedrosia</i> .                                      |

<sup>1</sup> This is certainly a Mistake, and ought to be *Menander* ; for *Meleager* was dead before the Division.

314 *The Division of the Empire*

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>Safaxor, the<br/>Solian,</i>  | <i>Aria, and Drangiana.</i>  |
| <i>Philip, the Pre-<br/>tor,</i>   | <i>Bactria, and Sogdia.</i>  |
| <i>Phrataphernes,</i>  | <i>Paribia, and Hyrcania.</i>  |
| <i>Peucestes,</i>  | <i>Persis.</i>   |
| <i>Tlepolemus,</i>   | <i>Carmania.</i>   |
| <i>Atropas,</i>  | <i>Media.</i>  |
| <i>Archon,</i>   | <i>Babylonia.</i>  |
| <i>Arcefilius,</i>   | <i>Mesopotamia.</i>  |
| <i>Selucus,</i>  | <i>The Command of the Royal<br/>Cavalry, which Hephestion<br/>had first, and Perdiccas after-<br/>wards.</i> |
| <i>Taxiles and Po-<br/>rus,</i>  | <i>Each their own Kingdoms, as<br/>restored, and augmented by<br/>Alexander.</i>                             |
| <i>The King kept Perdiccas with him, and constituted<br/>him Captain of the Guards, and the Forces which at-<br/>tended him.</i> |  |

*The Division of the Macedonian Empire by  
PERDICCAS, according to Dexippus, in Pho-  
tius, lib. 82.*

|                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Ptolemy,</i>                      | <i>Egypt, with Libya, and all the<br/>Countries beyond Egypt,<br/>Westward.</i> |
| <i>Cleomenes,</i>                    | <i>The Vicegerency, or Deputy-<br/>ship under Ptolemy.</i>                      |
| <i>Laomedon, the<br/>Mitylenean,</i> | <i>Syria.</i>   |
| <i>Philotas,</i>                     | <i>Cilicia.</i>   |

<sup>2</sup> It ought to be *Atropates*. See the Notes upon *Arrian* at the  
Word *Pisidæ*.

|  |                    |   |
|--|--------------------|---|
| 1 <i>Pbiton,</i><br><i>Eumenes,</i>  | In Asia obtained   | <i>Media.</i><br><i>Cappadocia, Pepplagonia, and all the Countries along the Euxine Sea, as far as Trapezus,</i><br><i>Pamphylia and Cilicia, as far as Pbyrgia.</i>          |
| 2 <i>Ajander,</i><br><i>Menander,</i><br><i>Leonnatus,</i>   |                    | <i>Caria.</i><br><i>Lydia.</i><br><i>Pbyrgia, along the Hellespont.</i>   |
| <i>Lysimachus,</i><br><i>Antipater,</i>  | In Europe obtained | <i>Thrace, and the Cheronea.</i><br>All the <i>Macadanians, Greeks, Illyrians, Triballi, Agrians, and all Epirus.</i>   |
| <i>Craerus,</i><br><i>Perdiccas,</i>   |                    | The Office of Guardian and Governor to the King.<br>The chief Command of the Forces in the room of <i>Hephæstion.</i>   |
| 3 <i>Porus,</i><br><i>Taxiles,</i><br>The other <i>Pithon,</i>   | In Europe obtained | The Countries between the <i>Indus</i> and the <i>Hydaspes.</i><br>The rest of <i>India.</i><br>The Nations adjacent to <i>India</i> , except the <i>Parapamisians.</i>       |
| <i>Oxyartes</i> the <i>Bactrian, Father to Roxane</i><br><i>Sybirtius,</i><br><i>Stafanor, the Sasanian,</i><br><i>Pbilip,</i> |                    | The Inhabitants nigh Mount <i>Caucasus</i> , next to <i>India.</i><br>The <i>Arachosii</i> and <i>Gadrosii.</i><br>The <i>Arii</i> and <i>Drangæ.</i><br>The <i>Sogdians.</i> |

1 This is a transposition of *Letara*, it ought to be *Pithon.*

2 *Cajander.*

3 See the Notes upon *Arrian*, No. 3. pag. 314.

|                       |                     |                              |
|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| 4 <i>Rhadapernes,</i> | In Europe obtain'd. | <i>Hircania.</i>             |
| 5 <i>Neoptolemus,</i> |                     | <i>Carmania.</i>             |
| <i>Peucestes,</i>     |                     | <i>Perſia.</i>               |
| 6 <i>Oropias.</i>     |                     | Part of the <i>Sogdians.</i> |
| <i>Seleucus,</i>      |                     | <i>Babylonia.</i>            |
| <i>Archelaus,</i>     |                     | <i>Mesopotamia.</i>          |

*The Partition of the Macedonian Provinces, according to Justin, lib. xiii.*

|                          |  |   |
|--------------------------|--|---|
| <i>Ptolemy,</i>          | Received from <i>Perdiccas</i> the Government of | <i>Ægypt, Africa, and part of Arabia.</i> |
| <i>Laomedon, the</i>     |  | <i>Syria.</i>                             |
| <i>Mitylenean,</i>       |  | <i>Cilicia, and Illyricum,</i>            |
| <i>Pbilotas, and his</i> |  | <i>Media, the Greater.</i>                |
| <i>Son.</i>              |  | <i>Media, the Leſs.</i>                   |
| <i>Atropatos.</i>        |  | <i>Susiana.</i>                           |
| 1 <i>Alcetas, the</i>    |  | <i>Pbrygia, the Greater,</i>              |
| <i>Brother of</i>        |  | <i>Lycia, and Pamphylia.</i>              |
| <i>Perdiccas,</i>        |  | <i>Caria.</i>                             |
| 2 <i>Scynus,</i>         |  | <i>Lydia.</i>                             |
| <i>Antigonus the</i>     |  | <i>Pbrygia, the Leſs.</i>                 |
| <i>Son of Pbilip.</i>    |  |   |
| 3 <i>Nearcbus,</i>       |  |   |
| <i>Cassander,</i>        |  |   |
| <i>Menander,</i>         |  |   |
| <i>Leonnatus,</i>        |  |   |

4 This is a Corruption, it ought to be *Pbratapernes.*

5 This ought to be *Tlepolemus.*

6 This Name is wholly unknown.

1 Most other Authors give this to *Python*; however *Atropates* held his share. We read nothing elsewhere, of any particular Government assign'd to *Alcetas.*

2 This is a Name altogether unknown. I fancy it is a Corruption of the last part of *Antigenes*, who was really Governor of that Province.

3 Most other Authors give all these three Provinces to *Antigonus*, and leave *Nearcbus* out.

*Lysimachus.*

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>Lysimachus.</i>  | <i>Tbrace, and the Countries adjacent to the Pontic Sea.</i>                 |
| <i>Eumenes,</i><br><i>Seleucus the Son of Antiochus,</i><br><i>Cassander, the Son of Antipater.</i> | <i>Cappadocia and Paplagonia.</i><br><i>The chief Command of the Forces.</i> |
| <i>Taxiles,</i>   | <i>The Command of the King's Guards.</i>                                     |
| <i>Pitbon, the Son of Agenor,</i>   | <i>The Countries between the Rivers <i>Indus</i> and <i>Hydaspes</i>.</i>    |
| <i>4 Parapomenus,</i>   | <i>The Colonies settled in <i>India</i>.</i>                                 |
| <i>5 Extarches,</i>   |  |
| <i>7 Statanor,</i>  |  |
| <i>9 Amyntas,</i>   | <i>The Borderers on Mount Caucæsus.</i>                                      |
| <i>10 Scytbæus,</i>   | <i>The 6 Drangæ.</i>   |
| <i>Nicanor,</i>   | <i>The 8 Argæans.</i>  |
| <i>Pbilip,</i>  | <i>The Bætrians.</i>   |
| <i>Pbrataphernes,</i>   | <i>The Sogdians.</i>   |
| <i>11 Tlepolemus,</i>   | <i>The Parthians.</i>  |
| <i>12 Peucestes,</i>  | <i>The Hyrcanians.</i>   |
| <i>13 Arcbos,</i>   | <i>The Armenians.</i>  |
| <i>Archesilaus,</i>   | <i>The Peræ.</i>   |
|   | <i>The Babylonians.</i>  |
|   | <i>The Pelasgæ.</i>  |
|   | <i>Mesopotamia.</i>  |

Received from *Perritus* the Government of

*The*

4 This is a base Error. The *Parapameni*, as they are sometimes call'd, or the Province towards the foot of Mount *Parapamisus*, was given to *Oxyartes*.

5 This is as bad a Fault as the other, it should be *Oxyartes*.

6 This ought to be the *Drangæ*; but he was not appointed their Governour.

7 *Statanor.*

8 This perhaps ought to be the *Arachofians*.

9 This was *Amyntas*, the Son of *Nicolaus*. *Curtius* mentions him as appointed Pretor of *Sogdia*. *lib. viii. 2. 14.* And *Arrian*, as Governor of *Bætria*, *lib. iv. cap. 22.*

10 This is certainly a Corruption, for none of *Alexander's* Captains were called by that Name.

11 *Tlepolemus* was never appointed Governor of *Perſia*.

12 *Peucestes* was deputed to govern *Perſis*, not *Babylonia*.

13 This *Archos Pelasgas*, is an Error in *Jufin*, and *Orofus* has copied it from him, as he does almost every thing else; it ought to be *Archos Pellaus Babylonicus*. However, *Freinsheimius* has corrected many

*The Division of the Provinces of the Macedonian Empire, according to OROSIUS, lib. iii. cap. ult.*

Alexander, says he, in twelve Years, brought the trembling World under Subjection, by dint of Sword; and his Princes, for the space of fourteen Years more, harras'd it, like ravenous Whelps tearing in pieces the Prey, which had been seized by the mighty Lyon; and their covetousness of the Spoil causing them to quarrel, they mangled and devoured each other. Then he proceeds to the distribution, as follows.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>Ptolemy,</i>                          | <i>Egypt, with part of Africa and Arabia.</i> |
| <i>Laomedon,</i>                         | <i>Syria, bordering thereupon.</i>            |
| <i>Pbilotas,</i>                         | <i>Cilicia.</i>                               |
| 1 <i>Pbilo,</i>                          | <i>The Illyrians.</i>                         |
| 2 <i>Atropatus,</i>                      | <i>Media the Greater.</i>                     |
| 3 The Father-in-Law of<br>Perdiccas,     | <i>Media the Less.</i>                        |
| 4 <i>Scyrus,</i>                         | <i>Susiana.</i>                               |
| <i>Antigenus, the<br/>Son of Philip.</i> | <i>Pbrygia the Greater.</i>                   |
| 5 <i>Nearcbus,</i>                       | <i>Lycia, and Pamphylia.</i>                  |

ny of these Errors (tho' against all Authority of Manuscripts) by making it *Sogdianos Philippus*, *Staganor Partbos*, *Hyrcanus Pretapber-*  
*nes*, *Armenios Tlepolemus*, *Perseus Peucestes*, *Babylonios Ardon-*  
*Pellaeus*. This Correction, if it may be allowed, will reconcile  
*Iasius* indifferently well with other Authors.

<sup>1</sup> This is a Error in *Orofus*; *Illyria* was undoubtedly assigned to *Antipater*, and *Pbilo* is a Name unknown.

<sup>2</sup> *Atropates.*

<sup>3</sup> This was the same *Atropates* mentioned before. *Alexander* gave his Daughter in Marriage to *Perdiccas*. *Arrian*, lib. vii. cap. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See the Remark on *Justin*, N<sup>o</sup>. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See the Remark on *Justin*, N<sup>o</sup>. 3.

*Cassander.*

|   |          |   |
|---|----------|---|
| <i>Cassander,</i>                       | obtained | <i>Caria.</i>   |
| <i>Menander,</i>                        |          | <i>Lydia.</i>   |
| <i>Leonnatus,</i>                       |          | <i>Pbrygia the Less.</i>                              |
| <i>Lysimachus,</i>                      |          | <i>Tbace, and the Countries along the Pontic Sea.</i> |
| <i>Eumenes,</i>                         |          | <i>Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia.</i>                   |
| <i>Seleucus, the Son of Antiochus,</i>  |          | <i>The chief Command of the Forces.</i>               |
| <i>Cassander, the Son of Ami-pater,</i> |          | <i>The Command of the King's Guards.</i>              |

The Gouvernours of the further *Bactria*, and *India* continued in their Provinces, as *Alexander* had left them.

|                       |          |  |
|-----------------------|----------|--|
| <i>Taxiles,</i>       | obtained | <i>The Seres, situate between the Rivers Hydaspes and Indus.</i> |
| <i>Pitbon,</i>        |          | <i>The Colonies planted in India.</i>                            |
| <i>Oxyartes,</i>      |          | <i>The Parapameni, bordering upon Mount Caucasus.</i>            |
| <i>Syburtius,</i>     |          | <i>The Arcabesii and Gedrofii.</i>                               |
| <i>Stasanor,</i>      |          | <i>The Drangæ, and Arci.</i>                                     |
| <i>Amyntas,</i>       |          | <i>The Bactrians.</i>  |
| <i>6 Scythæus,</i>    |          | <i>The Sogdians.</i>   |
| <i>Nicanor.</i>       |          | <i>The Partbians.</i>  |
| <i>Philip.</i>        |          | <i>The Hyrcanians.</i>   |
| <i>Pbratapbernes,</i> |          | <i>The Armenians.</i>  |
| <i>7 Tlepolemus,</i>  |          | <i>The Persians.</i>   |
| <i>8 Peucestes,</i>   |          | <i>The Babylonians.</i>  |
| <i>9 Archon,</i>      |          | <i>The Pelasgi.</i>  |
| <i>Arcelaus,</i>      |          | <i>Mesopotamia.</i>  |

6 See the Remark on *Justin*, N<sup>o</sup>. 10.

7 See the Remark on *Justin*, N<sup>o</sup>. 11.

8 See the Remark on *Justin*, N<sup>o</sup>. 12.

9 See the Remark on *Justin*, N<sup>o</sup>. 13.

The first Book of the *Maccabees* expresses no certain Number, only in Chap. 1. vers. 8, 9, it is said: *And his Servants obtained Dominion, every one in his place; and after his death, they all placed Crowns upon their Heads, as did their Sons after them; and Evils were multiplied upon the Earth.*

Daniel the Prophet, tells us in his eighth Chapter, that the Kingdom of the King of the *Greeks* was divided into four Divisions; and still more fully in the same Chapter, Verse 20. 21, 22. *The Ram which thou sawest with two Horns, is the King of Media and Persia, and the He-goat is the King of Græcia. The great Horn between his Eyes, is the first King, and forasmuch as when that was broke, four rose up for it; four Kings shall rise up out of that Nation, but not in his Power.* Which Place, St. *Jerom*, and from him *N. Serarius*, *Cornelius de Lapide*, and others after them, expound of the four chief Kings and their Kingdoms, (*viz.*) of *Antigonus* in *Asia*, *Philip* or *Aridæus* in *Macedonia*; *Seleucus* in *Syria*, and *Ptolemy* in *Ægypt*. However, St. *Jerom* seems to have borrowed this from *Josephus*, putting *Aridæus* for *Cassander*, his Successor, and omitting *Lysimachus*.





A BRIEF  
ACCOUNT  
Of all the  
AUTHORS  
Who have touched upon the  
History of ALEXANDER.

**A**S the Collating of Authors, and comparing them with themselves, and with one another, gives vast Lights to History; I have thought it not altogether amiss, to add here an Account of all the Authors who have treated upon this Subject. I have only given the bare Names of those which have been printed, and are common; but have added the Age, Writings, and Countries of the rest, as fully and clearly as my intended Brevity would give me leave.

X

The

The first who attempted any thing of this Nature, was *Johannes Loccenius*, one of the Commentators upon *Curtius*; but when he afterwards heard that the Learned *Gerhard. Joban. Vossius*, in his Account of the Greek and Latin Historians, was upon a Work of the same kind, he either left off his Design, or, at least, refused to publish his Collection; for this he tells us himself in his Annotations to *Curtius*, *lib. ix. cap. 5. 21.* The Reader may see the full Account, of which this is only an Extract, in *Voss. de Hist. Grec. lib. 1. cap. 10. and cap. 24.* Some are also added from *Reinesius's Epistle to Hoffman*, *pag. 311.* and others elsewhere.

*Abrabamus Aben Phareg. Mfuli. Raderus*, in the fourth Chapter of his Essay, assures us, that he compiled an History of *Alexander* the Great, in *Arablek*, a Manuscript Copy whereof is extant in the *Bavarian Library*.

*Acbmetes Molla*, or *Meulana Ackmetes* (which is the wife or learned *Acbmet*) wrote a Book of the Acts of *Alexander*, in rhining Verse, and publish'd it under the Name of *Æmir Suleiman*, who rewarded him handsomely for his Pains. See *Leunclavius* his *Musulm. History*, toward the Conclusion of the tenth Book. This may perhaps be the *Turk* mentioned towards the close of this Account.

*Ado*, his Chronicle.

*Adrian*, the Emperor, wrote an *Alexandreid*. See *Stephan. in Asegia* and *Sedrea*.

*Ælian* in his various History.

*Æsopus*. *Iuretus* quotes a Manuscript under this Name (which has never been published) in his Animaadversions upon the Epistles of *Symmacus*, *lib. iv. Epist. 33.* *Julius Valerius* translated it into Latin, of which afterwards. This is thought to be the fabulous History which is commonly known.

*Agatbarsides Cnidius*, wrote a Body of History, the thirty fifth Book where of *Athenæus* cites, *lib. xii. cap. 6.* He also compiled an History of *Asia*, which treated

treated chiefly of *Alexander's Exploits* there ; the eighth Book of which is cited by *Athenæus*, *lib. iv. cap. 14.* And an History of *Europe*, the twenty eighth Book of which is mentioned by the same Author, *lib. iv. cap. 19.* He is also taken notice of by *Elian*, in his History of Animals, *v. 27. and 16. 27.* And by *Lucian* in *Macrobiis*. *Plutarch* in his Parallels, *cap. 2.* has transcribed a Passage from the second Book of the *Perſian History*, wrote by *Agatbarſides Samius* ; but I can see no reason to imagine him the same Person with *Agatbarſides Cnidius*, as *Gefner* has done in his *Bibliotec.* *Photius* in his *Bibliotec.* has assured us, that this was a *Cnidian*, and by Profession a Teacher of Grammar, as also Clerk to *Heraclides*, and Scholar to *Cinæns* : That he liv'd after the *Mithridatic War*, when the *Roman Affairs* were in a flourishing Condition, the aforesaid Passage cited by *Athenæus*, *lib. xii. 16.* abundantly shews ; for of them I understand his Words towards the Conclusion of the fiftieth Chapter of his Exerpts. And that he lived before *Trajan* is certain, for he is quoted by *Plutarch* in his *Sympoſ. 8. Quest. 2.* He wrote the History of *Asia* in ten Books, and that of *Europe* in forty-nine, according to *Photius* ; as also five Books concerning the *Red Sea*, and what-ever related to it, when he was grown into Years. He is moreover said to have left behind him an Abridgment of his Account of the *Red Sea*, and five Books concerning the *Troglodytes* ; besides an Epitome of *Lyde*, wrote by *Antimachus* ; and an Extract of the Writings of those who had treated concerning Winds ; with a brief Account of his Conversation among his Friends and Familiars. *Photius* gives us an extraordinary Character of him, and makes him equal with *Thucydides*, and, in some cafes, his Superior. He himself own'd, that tho' he spoke in the *Attick Dialect*, yet that of *Camara* (a City in *Crete*) was more familiar to him. See *Photius*, in his *Excerpts*, *Cod. 30.* for some Account of him is to be met with in *Photius*, *Cod. 250.*

*Agis.* He wrote the Acts of *Alexander* in Verse, as may be easily gathered from *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 5. 8. *Arrian* also takes notice of him, lib. iv. cap. 9.

*Alexander*, His Epistles ; some of them were extant a long time ; for *Pliny* quotes them in his sixth Book, and *Plutarch* in his seventeenth Chapter. However, those which still remain, written to *Aristotle*, concerning the Situation of *India*, with some others, are accounted spurious.

*Alexander*, his History ; see *Julius Valerius*.

*Alexander the Great*, his *Odoricoeud*, is mentioned by *Strabo*.

*Amyntianus.* He wrote a Treatise in Praise of *Alexander*, which he dedicated to *Marcus Antoninus* the Emperor ; wherein he boasted, that his Style should equal the other's Exploits : But he was found at last to be no more than a vain empty Pretender ; for his Work was weak and trifling, and far inferior to many who went before him, even in the Elocution. This Account *Photius* gives in his *Bibliothec*, c. 131. One *Amyntianus* who wrote a Treatise of Elephants, is cited by the Interpreter of *Pindar* ; but whether he be the same with ours, I am not certain.

*Anaximenes Lampacenius.* He wrote the ancient Acts of the *Grecians* ; as also of *Philip*, and his Son *Alexander*. His Country honour'd him with an Olympick Statue, because he appeas'd *Alexander* when he was incens'd against their City, and threatned to ruin it. See *Pausan.* lib. 6. who adds, that he also wrote a History, full of Invectives, against the *Atbenians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Thebans*, and publish'd it under the feigned Name of *Theopompus*, to turn their Envy upon his Enemy. The Verses upon *Alexander*, which were ascribed to *Anaximenes*, *Pausanias* has assured us, were none of his. *Dionysius* in *Iſæ* : acquaints us, that he wrote Histories and Poems ; that he attempted to treat of Arts, and plead Causes, but was weak in every thing, and unskill'd in the Art of Persuasion.

**suation.** *Atbenæus*, lib. xii. 6. cites a Work of his, intitled, *The Changes of Kings*, and lib. vi. cap. 4. another call'd, *The Grounds of History*. See *Josephus* against *Appion*, lib. i. pag. 1051. *D.* And *Scaliger's Additions to Eusebius*, Num. MDC XCII. Some imagine him the Author of that fabulous History, which is commonly known, *Vincent Belluac. v. 39.* *Suidas* calls him the Son of *Aristocles*, the Scholar of *Diogenes the Cynic*, and *Zoilus* the Detractor of *Homer*, and *Preceptor to Alexander*, whom he accompanied in his Expedition. *Plutarch* also cites him in the third Chapter of his first Oration, concerning the Fortune of *Alexander*.

**Andronicus.** That he was one of the Writers of *Alexander's Acts*, we are assured by *Plutarch* in *Aristide*.

*Androsthenes Thasius*, sailed with *Nearcbus*, and is reported to have published something relating to this History, *Strabo*, lib. xvi. His *Indian Paraplus* is cited by *Atbenæus*, lib. iii. cap. 13.

*Angelus Cospus Bononiensis*, translated the Life of *Alexander*, written by one *Johannes*, a Monk, into Latin. This small Life is prefix'd to the Edition of *Curtius*, publish'd at *Basil*, by *Henricus Petrus*, Anno. 1545.

*Anticlides* is cited by *Pliny*, lib. iv. cap. 12. 30. and his seventy-eighth Book of Reversions by *Atbenæus*, ix. 8. who adds, that he was an *Atbenion*, lib. x. cap. 4. and he quotes him in his Expositions, lib. xi. cap. 6.. That he wrote an History of *Alexander*, is evident from *Plutarch* in his Life of *Alexander*. *Suidas* also takes notice of his Treatise concerning Reversions; and *Clemens Alexandrinus* in his Admonition to the Gentiles: His History of *Alexander* is likewise quoted by *Raphael Volaterranus*.

*Antidamus Heracleopolites*. His History of *Alexander the Great*; as also his Treatises on Morality, are cited by *Fulgentius* in his Exposition of ancient Discourse, from whence we may learn that he wrote in Latin.

*Antigenes* is mention'd by *Plutarch*, among the Writers of *Alexander's History*, and *Volaterran* takes notice of him on the same account, tho' perhaps he borrows it from *Plutarch*. One of that Name is also cited by *Pliny* in his sixth Book.

*Antisthenes*. *Volaterran* assures us, that he wrote an Account of *Alexander's Life and Actions*. He seems to be that *Rhodian* whom *Laertius* mentions in his Life of *Antisthenes* the Philosopher. He is taken notice of by *Pliny*. lib. xxxvi. 12. in his Discourse of *Obelisks*; which Subject *Antisthenes* might well touch upon, in his Account of *Egypt* conquer'd by *Alexander*.

*Antoninus*, Archbishop of *Florence*, copied the Fables concerning *Alexander*, from *Julius Valerius*.

*Appion Alexandrinus*, a Greek, who was surnamed *Plistonices*, wrote with a wonderful Ease and Eloquence. He was the Author of a Treatise in Praise of *Alexander*, as *Gellius* informs us, lib. vi. 8. *Tiberius Cæsar* surnamed him the *Cymbal of the World*; but he ought rather to have call'd him the *Trumpet of publick Fame*. *Pliny* in the Preface to his Natural History, N. 36. tells us, That in the Reign of *Caius Cæsar*, his Works were spread through all *Greece*. And *Seneca*, Epist. 88. n. 56. in *Nom. Homeri*, assures us it was adopted by all Cities. His fourth Book of the History of *Egypt* is mentioned by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in the first Book of his *Stromata*; who also takes notice of his Treatise against the *Jews*, which *Josephus* refuted in two Books. That he was a Grammarian by Profession, and a Philosopher, is evident from *Pliny*, lib. xxx. cap. 2. 7. who saw him; and assures us, in the fifth Chapter of the same Book, that he was surnamed *Plistonices*. However, he mentions him elsewhere in his *Magics* especially; as also *Atbenæus* in lib. vii. cap. 12. concerning the Luxury of *Apicius*; and again, in his Treatise concerning the Latin Tongue, lib. xv. cap. 8. He also wrote Histories of all Nations, and a Comment on *Homer*. *Seneca* seems to reproach

reproach him for his too earnest Application to Writing; and by reason of the numerous Works which he publish'd, *Suidas* tells us he was named Μέχθης, or the Drudge.

*Archelaus*, a Chorographer, who described all the Countries through which *Alexander* travelled. *Vid. Laert. in Archelao.*

*Aristobulus*, the Son of *Aristobulus*, the *Cassandraean*. *Arrian* professes, in the Preface to his History, that he chiefly chouses to copy from him, because he was a constant Companion to *Alexander*, by whom he was order'd to oversee the Repairs of *Cyrus*'s Tomb, as *Arrian* acquaints us, *lib. vi. cap. 30*. They who confound him with *Aristobulus* the Jew, are in an Error: For *Atbenæus*, *lib. xi. cap. 6.* and *lib. vi. 13*. *Lucian in Macrobiis*, and others, assure us he was a *Cassandraean*. *Plutarch* makes frequent use of his Authority; as in *Demosth. cap. 32*; and the same does *Strabo*. *Alexander* threw a Book of his into the *Hydaspes*, wherein was an Account of the famous single Combat between him and *Porus*, as *Lucian* assures us in his Treatise *de Conscripta Historia*. See *Vossius de Hist. Græc. i. 10. Soiter. in dedic. Belli Pannonici.*

*Aristoxenus*. *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Alexander*, takes notice of his Commentaries; but whether they treated much of *Alexander* may be questioned from *Atbenæus*, *lib. xiv. 2*, for these seem only to have been some Miscellaneous Tracts. However *Suidas* has left it upon Record, that he wrote Books of all sorts, to the Number of 454.

*Aristus Salaminius*. He is cited by *Atbenæus*, *lib. x. cap. 10*. That he was much later than *Alexander*'s Time, is evident from *Strabo*, *lib. xv*, and that he wrote an Account of *Alexander*'s Acts, we are assured from *Arrian*, *lib. vii. cap. 15*.

*Arrian the Nicomedian*.

*Arrianus Epopæus*, wrote an *Alexandrid*, or Poem upon *Alexander*, in twenty four Books, according to *Suidas*.

*Asclepiades*. He is mentioned among the Writers of this History by *Arrian*, *lib. vii. cap. 15.*

*Athenæus*.

*Bæton*. The Surveyor of *Alexander's Marches*, publish'd a Work entitled, *The several Stations of Alexander during his Expedition*, as *Athenæus* assures us, *lib. x. 12.* He is also cited by *Pliny*, *lib. vi. 17.* who nevertheless calls him *Biton*.

*Bizarus, Peter*, in his *Persian History*.

*Calinius Syrus*, mentioned by *Plutarch* in his *Life of Aristides*.

*Callisthenes*, was carried abroad by *Alexander* himself, on purpose to write his History, *Justin. lib. xiii. 6. 7.* and afterwards put to Death, *Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 14.* *Plutarch, Curtius, lib. viii. 8. 21.* &c. *Raderus* assures us, that the Report of the Excellency of *Callisthenes*'s History, which is said to be still extant, is groundless; and that he easily found it out from the Letters of *Ducæus*, whom he requested to transcribe him a little part thereof by way of Specimen. And indeed from the very beginning of that spurious *Callisthenes*, which *Ducæus* transmitted to him, it appears to be a fabulous History; but we shall add more of this when we come to discourse of *Julius Valerius*. We have *Cicero's* Judgment upon the Stile of *Callisthenes*, in his Epistle to his Brother *Quintus*, *ii. 12.*

*Capellus*, in his Sacred and Prophane History from *Adam to Augustus Cæsar*,

*Carystius Pergamenus*, wrote a Book of Historical Commentaries, wherein he treated of *Alexander's Acts*, as is evident from several Passages which *Athenæus* has quoted from him, *lib. x. 9. lib. xii. 15. lib. xiii. 8. lib. xv. 8.*

*Cedrenus*. His Work is still extant.

*Cephaleon*, whom *Photius*, *lib. 68.* calls the Oppressor of his Country. He wrote nine Books, on which he bestowed the Names of the Muses, towards the

the Conclusion of which he treated upon the Affairs of *Alexander*, as is evident from the fore-mentioned Passage of *Photius*, as also from another in the same Author, lib. 141. *Suidas* assures us, that he flourish'd in the Time of *Adrian* the Emperor.

*Charles Isangelus.* He is mentioned by *Plutarch* in his Life of *Alexander*; whether the next is the same, I know not.

*Charles Mytlenæus*, is also cited by *Plutarch* in his Life of *Alexander*, and by *Athenæus*, lib. viii. 2. lib. xii. 2. and lib. iii. 13. His seventh Book of the History of *Alexander*, is cited by the same Author, lib. xii. 2. and lib. xiii. 4. See also *Gellius*, v. 2.

*Charon.* Three Historians of this Name are mentioned by *Suidas*, all which, 'tis very like, wrote Histories of *Alexander*, unless perhaps the first, named *Lampacenus*, be excepted because of his Age. However, he liv'd long after the Reign of the first *Darius*, as is manifest from several Passages quoted from him by *Athenæus*. The *Olympian Inscriptions* assure us he lived in the time of *Xerxes*.

*Chærilus.* He was one of *Alexander*'s Followers, and wrote his Atchievements in Verse; for *Horace Epist. lib. ii. Epist. 1.* says,

*How pleas'd with Chærilus was Philip's Son,  
When for bars, ill-contriv'd, romantick Praise,  
He freely gave him the substantial Gold.*

*Curtius* tells us he was a wretched Poetafter, lib. viii. cap. 5. 8. The Story of the Bargain between *Alexander* and him, is well known, (viz.) That he shou'd have a piece of Gold, as a Reward, for every good Verse, and a Box on the Ear for every bad One. The Verses which contain the Epitaph of *Sardinapalus*, and are preserv'd by *Athenæus*, lib. xii. 7. seem to have been of his composing. *Vid. Scaliger: ad Euseb. Num. MDXXXIV.*

*Clearibus Soliensis.* He was a Scholar of *Aristotle*, and, among other Things, wrote Books of Lives, wherein

wherein he presented the World with that of *Darius*, who was overthrown by *Alexander*, as we are assured by *Atbenæus*, lib. xii. cap. 9.

*Clemens.* We have no Account of him but from *Apuleius*, who was his Cotemporary; for thus he says, lib. i. *Florid.* *All those Acts of Alexander, my Friend Clemens has illustrated in his shining Verse, for he is the Politeſt, as well as the moſt Learned of all the Poets.*

*Cleo, the Sicilian*, is mentioned by *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 5. as one of *Alexander's* chief Flatterers; from whence we may gather, that he was one of those who wrote Verses in praise of him. *Stephanus in Aen.* tells us of one *Cleo a Syracusan*, who wrote an Account of Havens, but, whether he was the same or no, is uncertain.

*Clitarchus.* *Quintilian*, lib. x. 1. approves his Wit, but questions his Veracity. His History of *Alexander*, of whom he was a Follower, is cited by *Plutarch* in his Life of *Alexander*. *Pliny*, lib. vi. 13. 6. *Ælian*, in his History of Animals, lib. xii. 2. 22. 23, 25. He is also often quoted by *Atbenæus* and *Strabo*. Some imagine that *Curtius* translated his History into Latin, because he commends him, lib. ix. cap. 5. 21. But that very Passage, ought to teach them better Things, for there he mentions not *Clitarchus* alone, but *Tima-genes* with him, and is so far from translating them, that he accuses them of too much Incredulity.

*Cluverius*, in his Historical Epitome.

*Constantinus Manasses.*

*Cornelius Nepos.* He is said to have translated one of *Alexander's* Epistles, concerning the Situation of India, &c. into Latin. Whether he be the same who wrote an Account of *Alexander's* Exploits, and is mention'd by the Author of *Histor. Miscellan.* lib. xii. 19. I know not.

*Craterus.* He was one of *Alexander's* Generals, and is said to have wrote his History. *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Aristides*, cap. 15. makes mention of *Craterus*, undoubtedly from his Books τετρα Κρατερον, as he is cited

cited by *Stepbanus* in his Account of Cities, who, notwithstanding he was a *Macedonian*, may be a different Person from ours, whom *Eumenes* in *Suidas*, commends exceedingly. However, ours wrote some Accounts concerning *Alexander*, in an Epistle to his Mother *Aristopatra*, which *Strabo* takes notice of, in his fifteenth Book.

*Daimachus*. His Indian History is cited by *Atbenæus*, lib. ix. cap. ii. *Strabo*, in his eleventh Book, calls him an excessive lying Author, for saying he was sent to *Altirocbades* the Indian. He left Commentaries of his Journey behind him.

*Dexippus*. He is quoted by *Cedrenus* in his Historical Compendium. A short Abstract of him is to be found at the beginning of *Eusebius*'s Chronicle. *Eunapius*, at the Conclusion of *Porphyry*, tells us, that he liv'd in the Times of *Galienus*, and some succeeding Emperors, and wrote a History of those Times; as also, that he was excellently well skill'd in Logick, and the liberal Arts.

*Dicearchus*. He seems to have touch'd upon the Story of *Alexander* the Great, in the Books which he wrote concerning the Lives of the *Grecians*, cited by *Atbenæus*, lib. xiii. i. He was a *Sicilian* of the City *Messana*, and an Hearer of *Aristotle*, according to *Suidas*. *Pliny* often mentions his first Books of Geometrical Writings, with Honour; and assures us he was a learned Man, and appointed to survey some Mountains by the Royal Mandate. *Africanus*, in his Account of the *Ægyptian* Monarchs, annex'd to *Scaliger*'s Edition of *Eusebius*, quotes a Passage from his first Book.

*Dio Chrysostom Prusæus*, among other Things, is said by *Suidas*, to have left behind him eight Books, concerning the Virtues of *Alexander*. See more of him in *Pbotius* his *Bibliothec*.

*Diodorus Siculus*.

*Diodotus*

*Diodotus Erythreus* wrote Commentaries of *Alexander*, as may be gathered from *Atbenæus*, lib. x. 9.

*Diogenes Babylonius*. That he wrote an Account of *Alexander* is evident from *Quintilian*, i. 1, 8. And *Clement. Alexandr. lib. 1. Strom.* So that they who will have him to have been *Preceptor to Antipater*, must of necessity mean *Antipater the Younger*.

*Diogenetus* is joined with *Bæton* by *Pliny*, lib. vi. 17.

*Dionysius* was dispatch'd into India by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, as *Pliny* assures us, lib. vi. 17. and while he tarried there with the Kings of that Country, he gave an Account of the Customs and Policy of the Nations there, which he could not do without making mention of the Acts of *Alexander*, and his Exploits in these Parts.

*Diotimus Atbeniensis*. That he is to be reckoned among the Writers of *Alexander's History*, may be learn'd from *Atbenæus*, lib. x. 10.

*Dorotheus Ascalonites*. *Atbenæus* cites his Histories of *Alexander*, lib. vii. 2.

*Dresserus*, in his *Millenaries*.

*Duris Samius*, wrote upon various Subjects, among which were Accounts of the *Macedonian Affairs* relating to *Alexander*. He is often quoted by *Atbenæus*, and *Plutarch* in his Discourses concerning *Alexander*.

*Ephippus Olyntbius*, wrote an Account of the Obsequies of *Alexander* and *Hephæstion*, as is manifest from *Atbenæus*, lib. x. 9. and lib. xii. 9. There is another Historian of the same Name mentioned by *Suidas*.

*Eratosthenes Cyrenæus*. *Arrian*, lib. v. cap. 3. tells us, he does not entirely agree with him, in one Particular, tho', presently after, he calls him a grave and judicious Author. *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Alexander*, makes mention of him frequently, and so do many more, but especially *Strabo*. But here we only propose

pose to shew those Passages in Authors, which declare him to have wrote concerning the Acts of *Alexander*.

*Eumenes Cardianus*. He was one of *Alexander's* Captains, as is evident from *Arrian*. *Plutarch*, wrote his Life, as did *Æmilius Probus*, or *Cornelius Nepos*. *Atbenaus*, lib. x. 9. quotes his Commentaries of *Alexander's* Actions. *Suidas* confounds him strangely with *Eumenes*, firnam'd *Pergamenus*, and says, an Account of *Alexander* was wrote by each of them. This Name is to be rectified in *Ælian's* various History, lib. iii. cap. 23. for the Particulars related there, are also to be found in *Plutarch*, and were undoubtedly taken from the Commentaries of *Eumenes*.

*Eusebius Chronogrophus*.

*Eusebius*, another of the same Name, See *Julius Valerius*.

*Frontinus*, in his Treatise of Military Stratagems.

*Gualterus Belga*. He wrote the Acts of *Alexander* in ten Books, in Heroic Verse, which are published. *Guilermus Briton* commends him exceedingly in the Preface to his *Pbillipid*.

*Glycas* in his Annals.

*Harpocratian*. Why *Raderus* plac'd him in the Catalogue of the Writers of *Alexander's* Acts, I cannot imagine.

*Hartliebus Boius*, translated the History of *Julius Valerius*, into the German Language, as *Raderus* informs us.

*Heccataeus Eretriensis*. He is reckon'd among the Writers of this History by *Plutarch*. It is not improbable but that he may be the same with *Hecataeus Abderites*, who wrote concerning *Sparta*; for that he was an Historian, and one of *Alexander's* Followers, we are assured by *Josephus* in his first Book against *Appion*. See *Vossius de Hist. Græcis*, lib. i. cap. 10.

*Hegeſander*.

*Hegeſander.* That he wrote many Paſſages concerning *Alexander*, eſpecially in his Commentaries, is plain from thoſe places where *Athenaeus* has mentioned him.

*Hegeſias Magneſ.* Some Fragments of his History of *Alexander*, as is moſt probable, are to be found in *Dionyſius Halicarnassaeus*, *de Structura Orationis*, and in *Agatharſides* his Excerpts in *Pbotius*: They are produc'd in both these Authors as Examples of a dull and dry Compoſition. *Cicero* in his *Brutus*, cap. 83. and in his Treatise *de Oratore*, cap. 67. pronounces him a foolish Author. And *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Alexander*, gives him the Character of an empty Exclaimer.

*Helymon*, ſung *Alexander's* Exploits in Verse, and *Alexander*, as a Punishment upon him, for attempting a Task ſo much beyond his Abilities, caused him to be coopt up in a Cage, where he dy'd. Thus *Raderus*. See alſo *Gyraldus de Poet. Dial. 3.* and *Suidas* in *Χοίειλος*.

*Heracliaes* is quoted by *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Alexander*; and I imagine him to be that *Alexandrian* who, as *Laertius* witnesseth, wrote an Account of the Succession of their Kings. There was alſo another of the ſame Name, a *Cumean* by Birth, who wrote an History of the *Persian* Affairs, and is cited by *Athenaeus*. However, I am not able to gather from that Author, whether he liv'd before *Alexander*, or after.

*Hermippus.* *Plutarch* mentions him in his Life of *Alexander*.

*Hieronymus Cardianus.* See *Voffius de Hist. Grec.* lib. i. cap. 11. from *Suidas*. But I have ſome doubt of him.

*Hister*, who may perhaps be the *Iſtrus* of *Volaterran*, is ſaid by *Suidas*, to have wrote much. *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Alexander*, reckons him among the Writers of this History.

*Historia Miscellanea*, lib. xii. cap. 19.

*Jaſon*

*Jaſon.* *Vid. Voff. de Hift. Grec, lib. i. cap. 10.*

*Idomeneus,* seems to be mentioned as one of the Writers of the *Alexandrine History*, by *Plutarch* in his Life of *Demosthenes*, *cap. 32.*

*Joannes Antiochenus,* wrote an History from *Adam*, wherein he made mention of *Alexander*, as is evident from the Excerpts of *Constantine*, which *Henry Valesius* a few Years ago made publick.

*Joannes Monachus.* *Cælius Rhodiginus* attributes a great deal to him, and commends him exceedingly. His Work is prefixt to the *Basi!* Edition of *Curius*, which was published in the Year 1545. *Angelus Cofrus* of *Bononia* being the Latin Translator thereof.

*Josephus.*

*Julian* the Emperor, in his *Cæsars*.

*Julius Valerius*, wrote a Latin History of *Alexander*, full of Romance, which is, by ſome, ascribed to *Aesopus*, and by others to *Callisthenes*. And from hence, as from a plentiful Store-house, *Antoninus*, *Vincentius*, *Uspurgensis*, and others, have drawn their whole Stock of Fables. However, *C. Bartibius* ſeems to have plac'd ſome Value upon his Work, as appears from this Paſſage in *lib. xi. cap. 10. Adversar.* “ Many “ ſuch Things, ſays he, are to be found in that learn- “ ed Monk, who wrote a Life of *Alexander*, ſome “ Ages ſince, ſtuffed full of prodigious Lies; which “ however, was formerly had in ſuch Esteem, that “ his Authority was held good even by Writers of “ Merit. Such a one was *Sylvester Gyraldus* in *Eng- land*, not above four Ages ago, and yet he made no “ ſcruple to quote his Romance, as a judicious Histo- “ rian. Whether this remarkable History was ever “ publish'd, I know not. We our ſelves have a Ma- “ nuscript Copy thereof, but ſcarce think it valuable “ enough to deserve a place in our Library. He is “ the ſame Author whom *Franciscus Juretus*, in the “ 54th Epiftle of his first Book to *Symmachus*, calls “ by the Name of *Aesopus*, and ſays, *Julius Valerius* “ was

“ was only the Translator. As for my part, I can  
 “ neither believe it to have been the Work of a *Greek*  
 “ nor *Roman* Author, because the Author, whoever  
 “ he was, has shew'd himself so very ignorant in both  
 “ Languages.” Thus far *Bartibius*. It was trans-  
 lated into the *German* Tongue, and printed at *Stras-  
 burgb* in the Year 1486. He is cited by *Salmatius* in  
 his Notes to *Solinus*, pag. 1025, and call'd an ancient  
 Writer, who publish'd a romantick History of *Alex-  
 ander*.

*Justin.*

*Lazius*, in his *History of Greece*.

*Lucan*, in his *Pbarsalia*.

*Lucian* in his *Dialogues*.

*Lycus*. See *Stephanus*, at the Word Σκιδερ.

*Lyncaeus Samius*. That the *Acts of Alexander* took  
 up a part of his *Commentaries*, we may guess from  
*Athenæus*, lib. x. cap. 9.

*Marjyas*, the Son of *Periander*. *Athenæus*,  
 lib. xiv. 7. cites his *History of the Macedonian Affairs* ;  
 and so does *Plutarch* in his *Life of Demosthenes*. He  
 wrote ten Books, beginning at the first King of  
*Macedonia*, and ending with *Alexander's* March into  
*Syria*. He also wrote a *Treatise of the Education of*  
*Alexander* ; for he had his Education with him. He  
 was a *Pellaean* by Birth, and Brother to *Antigonus*,  
 who was afterwards a King, as *Suidas* informs us :  
*Pliny* in his twelfth and thirteenth Books, only calls  
 him a *Macedonian*. He was Admiral of the Fleet  
 under *Demetrius*, as *Diodorus* assures us, lib. xx. 51.  
 See *Vossius de Hist. Grec.* lib. i. cap. 10.

*Maitbie*, *Theatrum Historicum*.

*Megasthenes*. *Arrian*, lib. v. cap. 5. calls him a  
 well-approv'd Author, and often quotes him, espe-  
 cially in his *Indian History* ; and *Ælian* does the  
 same in his *History of Animals*. He tarried some  
 time with two of the *Indian Kings*, and took an  
 Account

Account of their Customs and Manners ; as *Pliny* informs us, *lib. vi. cap. 17.* He was dispatch'd to *Sandracotus*, King of *India*, and left a Journal of his Travels behind him ; which *Strabo*, *lib. xi.* tells us, is full of Fables. He also wrote Politicks, which are often taken notice of by *Athenaeus*.

*Menacbinus Sicyonius*, wrote an History of *Alexander* the Great, according to *Suidas*, and *Volaterran*.

*Morebbaq Alexandrinorum*. *Nicephorus*, the Ecclesiastical Historian, *lib. x. 36.* assures us that these *Alexandrians* contain'd the Life of *Alexander*.

*Nearchus*. He accompanied *Alexander* in his Expedition ; was one of his Captains ; and wrote a History of his Acts. *Suidas* tells us, he stiled himself falsely, the Admiral of *Alexander*'s Navy, when he was, in reality, no more than Captain of one Ship. But *Suidas* himself is in an Error, and has father'd the Story upon a wrong Person, for it was *Onesicritus*. *Philostratus* in his Life of *Apollonius*, *lib. iii.* calls him Admiral of the Fleet ; and so does *Arrian* in his *Indian History*, *cap. 18.* and elsewhere. *Strabo*, *lib. ii.* accuses him with romancing much in his History. And so does *Arrian* too, in his *Indian History*.

*Nestor*. *Stephanus* at the Word 'τεσσας, cites his *Alexandriad*.

*Nicanor* wrote an Account of *Alexander*'s Acts ; as *Varro* tells us in his fourth Book of Divine Subjects, who is quoted by *Laetantius*, *lib. i. cap. 6.* and from him, *Sabellicus* has taken it, *Ennead. 2. lib. iii.* as also, *Lud. Vives* upon *St. Augustine de Civit. Dei*, *lib. xviii. cap. 27.*

*Nicobule*. A Fragment of his concerning *Alexander*, is to be found in *Athenaeus*, *lib. xii. 9.*

*Nymphis Heracletes*, wrote a Treatise of *Alexander*, and his Successors. *Suidas*. His ninth Book, which contain'd an Account of the *Ptolemies*, is mention'd by *Aelian* in his History of Animals, *lib. xvii. 3.*

*Olympiads.* Their Description. This, *Scaliger* published with his Edition of *Eusebius*.

*Oneſcritus* is cited by *Pliny*, *lib. vi. 22. 2.* He wrote an Account of the Birth and Pedigree of *Alexander*, according to *Laertius*. *Strabo*, in his eleventh Book, and more particularly in his Fifteenth, taxes him with numerous Instances of Falshood; so that you may much more truly ſtile him Director of all the fabulous and incredible Stories concerning *Alexander*, than Admiral of the Royal Navy. And indeed, to confefs the Truth, tho' all the Friends and Followers of *Alexander*, who wrote any Memoirs on that Subject, wrote ſtrange Things instead of true Ones; yet at the cooking up a monſtrous Story, he ſurpaſſ'd them all. This, in all probability, was he to whom *Alexander*, when he offered him his History, is reported to have ſaid, *He wiſh'd be could have the liberty to return to Life for a while, after be was dead, that be might know how that History was receiv'd in the World.* However, we are ſure this is He who, *Plutarch* ſays, was reading a Story concerning the *Amazons* (out of the fourth Book of his History) to King *Lysimachus*, ſome Years after *Alexander's* Deceafe, whereat the King fell a laughing, and aſk'd how ſuch a Thing could happen, and he know nothing of it, tho' he was preſent. See the Notes on *Arrian*, *lib. vii. cap. 13.*

#### *Oroſtius.*

*Ortbagoras.* That he fail'd along with *Oneſcritus*, is very probable from *Aelian* in his History of Animals, *lib. xvii. 6.* He alſo wrote nine Books of the Indian Affairs, which the ſame Author cites in the ſame Work, *lib. xvi. 35.* As alſo *Pbiloſtratus* in his Life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, *lib. iii.*

*Otto Frifingensis.*

*Patroclus.* He is mentioned by *Strabo*, *lib. ii.* and ſays, that all the Friends and Followers of *Alexander* in

in his Expedition, had only a transient kind of a View of Things; but *Alexander* himself took especial Care to understand every thing thoroughly, because the Descriptions of Countries were always delivered to him by the most expert Persons. He says this Account was given him by *Xenocles* the Treasurer.

*Petavius, Dionysius*, in his Chronology.

*Pezelius. His Speculum Historiae.*

*Pbanias*, as quoted by *Clement, lib. i. Stromat.* takes notice of *Alexander's* Expedition into *Asia*. I therefore imagine him to be the Scholar of *Aristotle*, mentioned by *Suidas*.

*Philippus Chalcidensis.*

*Philippus Isangelus.* This, and the former are mentioned by *Plutarch* in his Life of *Alexander*.

*Pbilon Thebanus*, is also taken notice of by the same Author in the same Work.

*Pbylarcbus.* I had scarce reckoned him among the Writers of this History, had not *Raderus* introduced him; for I can find nothing which he has ever written to rank him among this Class. *Athenæus* indeed, *lib. vi. 13.* quotes a Passage out of his sixth Book, which relates to *Alexander*; but then it is certain that was one of the Books which treated concerning *Pyrbus*, and the later Kings.

*Pbilostratus.*

*Pindarus.* His Verses upon *Alexander* are cited by *Dionysius* in his *Rhetorics*, pag. 179. From whence *Raderus* concludes, that this *Pindar* was later than *Alexander*. *Suidas* also takes notice of it. However, I much rather believe, that the Verses cited by *Dionysius*, were wrote by *Pindar* the Elder, to *Alexander*, King of *Macedon*; not our *Alexander* the Great, but another, namely, his Great Grandfather; for which Reason, no *Pindar* has any Right to a Place in this Catalogue. And what *Dio Chrysostom* has written in his second Oration, and *Tretzes Cbil. E. 7. 139.* confirm the Truth of this Assertion.

*Plinius.**Plutarchus.**Polyænus.*

*Polylcetus Larissæus.* The eighth Book of his Histories is cited by *Atbenæus*, *lib. xii. 9.* One *Polycletus* is also mentioned by *Strabo*, *lib. xvi.* whom I imagine the same Person.

*Polycritus.* He is taken notice of by *Plutarch* in his Life of *Alexander*.

*Pompeius Trogus.* *Justin* abridg'd his History: I fancy he is cited in *Histor. Miscellan.* *lib. xii. cap. 19.*

*Potamon Mitylenæus.* He is also reckoned among those Writers, by *Volaterran*, and others, from *Suidas*; who says he lived under *Tiberius*, and was highly Honour'd and Esteem'd by him.

*Praxagorus.* *Pbotius* mentions him, *lib. lxii.*

*Ptolemaeus*, who reigned in *Ægypt* after *Alexander's* Decease. *Arrian* assures us, he chiefly copies from him. *Curtius* also mentions him, *lib. ix. cap. 5. 21.* And *Plutarch* in his Life of *Alexander*; and this I chose to take notice of, because *Gesner* in his *Bibliotec.* has committed an Error, in imagining this *Ptolemy*, and the *Anticlides* in *Plutarch*, to have been one and the same Person: *Atbenæus* commends his Memoirs exceedingly.

*Rbeineccius.**Sabellicus.**Scaliger*, in *Eusebianis*.

*Seleucus.* He was one of *Alexander's* Captains, and, unless my Memory fails me, we have some Account of his Memoirs of *Alexander*, in *Diodorus*.

*Seneca.**Sigonius.* In his Treatise of the *Atbenian Years*.

*Sleidan.* Of the four Empires, with the Continuation.

*Solinus.**Sopater*

*Sopater*, wrote twelve Books of Excerpts of various sorts of Learning ; in the tenth whereof, as *Photius* informs us, *Cod. cxli.* the Acts of *Alexander* are recorded.

*Sotericbus Afites*, an Heroic Poet, wrote an *Alexandriac*, that is, the Story of *Alexander* the Great, after he had taken *Thebes*, and other Places. *Suidas*.

*Sotion*. He is mentioned by *Plutarch* in his Life of *Alexander*.

*Strabo*. He not only interspers'd much of *Alexander's* Life, here and there, among his Geography ; but also wrote a particular History thereof, as he himself informs us, almost at the beginning of Book 11. of his Geography.

*Strattis Olyntbius* wrote *Alexander's* Commentaries, in five Books, as also an Account of his Death. *Suidas*.

*Suidas*.

*Tarick Mircond*, in his *Persian History*.

*Texoira, Petrus Lusitanus* mentions him. in his *Itinerary* concerning the *Persian Kings*.

*Timagenes*. He is cited by *Curtius, lib. ix. 5. 21.* See an Account of him in *Quintilian Institut. lib. x. 1.*

*Turca*. A certain *Turk* translated *Alexander's* Exploits into their Language, by the exprefs Command of *Selymus* the First. This, *Boterus* testifies in his *Policy of Illustrious Men, lib. xi. cap. 2.* As also *Tubero, lib. x.* towards the Conclusion of the *Memoirs* of his own Times. See *Achmet*.

*Varro*. *Raderus* informs us that he wrote an small Epitome of *Alexander's* History.

*Vincentius Bellovacensis*, in his *Speculum*.

*Valaterranus, Raphael*.

*Usher, Archbishop*, in his *Annals*.

*Uspurgensis Abbas*.

*Zenobia.* She was a Queen of the East, and claims a Place here, from the Testimony of *Trebellius Pollio*, in his Account of the thirty Tyrants, *cap. 18.* He says, she was so expert in the History of *Alexander*, and that of the Eastern Nations, that she is said to have written an Abstract of them.

*Zonaras.* See *Jobannes Monachus*.

*Zosimus.*

Thus have I given, at least, the Names of most of the Authors who have touch'd upon this Story. What Additions I have made to the former Catalogue, may be easily perceived by any of my Readers, who will take the Pains to compare mine, with that prefix'd to the best Editions of *Curtius*. Howbeit, I have still to add some of our noted English Authors who have touched upon that Subject; namely, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and Dr. *Prideaux*, whose Works are well received in the World, and whom I have not so much as named, nor quoted any thing from them, because I was willing to avoid Censure, as much as possible. I have collected my Remarks from the same Authors whence they had their Works; and if we any where differ considerably, 'tis not unlikely, but one, or more of us may be in an Error. However, this I shall say, in behalf of my two ingenious Countrymen, that as they had large and extensive Works upon their Hands, it was impossible they should be altogether exact in every minute Particular. We have some other English Writers, who have wrote particularly upon this Story, but they are neither many in Number, nor their Writings worth the Notice.



A B R I E F

# Chronological T A B L E

Of all the most remarkable  
O C C U R R E N C E S

During the Reign of  
**ALEXANDER the Great.**

According to the *Greek*, and *Roman* Accounts of Time, extracted chiefly from *Arrian*.

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls.                        | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.   | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander.          |
|-------------------------|--|--|--|----------------------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| 336                     | 417                                    | C. Sulpitius Longus.<br>P. Aelius Petus. | BOOK I.<br>PHILIP, King of Macedonia slain Aug. 18. according to Scaliger. Septem. 13. according to Petavius; and Septem. 24. according to Ufer in his Annals, pag. 157. His Son Alexander succeeding him, marches into Peloponnesus, where he was declar'd Generalissimo of Greece against the Persians, by all but the Lacedæmonians. Returning into Macedonia, he | Pythodæmus.          | cxi.      | 21 <sup>st.</sup><br>Reg.<br>1. |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls.  | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.   | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |            |
|-------------------------|--|--|--|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|------------|
| 335                     | 418                                    | L. Papirius<br>Crassus<br>Caeso Duilius.                 | halts early the next<br>Spring through Thrace a-<br>gainst the <i>Triballi</i> and<br><i>Illyrians</i> , whom he over-<br>comes, as also the <i>Getes</i><br>beyond the River <i>Ister</i> .<br>Whereupon the <i>Triballi</i> ,<br><i>Celtae</i> , and other Nati-<br>ons sue for Peace, and<br>obtain it. This done,<br><i>Alexander</i> marches against<br><i>Clitus</i> , dispatches <i>Langarus</i> to quell the <i>Auto-<br/>riatæ</i> ; and having beat<br><i>Clitus</i> 's Army, forced<br>him to fly for Refuge a-<br>mong the <i>Taulantii</i> . The<br>Revolt of the <i>Thebans</i> .<br>Its occasion. <i>Alexan-<br/>der</i> 's expeditious March<br>to <i>Thebes</i> , and encamp-<br>ment against it. <i>Perdiccas</i><br>attacks the City without<br>Orders. The City taken,<br>sack'd, and <u>demolish'd</u> .<br>October 4. The <i>Arcadians</i> ,<br><i>Eleans</i> and <i>Aetolians</i> pardon'd. The<br><i>Athenians</i> send an Em-<br>bassy to him. He de-<br>mands that nine of their<br>Orators should be deli-<br>vered up, but at last re-<br>ceives them into Favour,<br>on account of their ba-<br>nishing <i>Charidemus</i> .<br>The King then returns<br>into <i>Macedonia</i> ; confi-<br>gures <i>Antipater</i> Viceroy of<br><i>Greece</i> ; leads his Forces<br><i>M. Atilius</i> along the Sea Coast, and<br><i>M. Regulus</i> in twenty Days arrives | Evenetus.            | 2         | 22d                    | Reg.<br>2. |
| 334                     | 419                                    | M. Valen-<br>tius<br>Corvinus<br>M. Attilius<br>Regulus. | Ctesicles.   | 3                    | 23d       |                        |            |

| Years before<br>Christ. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.   | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|--|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                         |  |                   | <p>at <i>Sestos</i>, where his whole Army pass over to <i>Abydus</i>. He then sacrifices to <i>Proteus</i> at <i>Eleusis</i>. Embarks there and crosses the <i>Hellestont</i>. Takes down a suit of Armour from the Temple of <i>Pallas</i>, and hangs up his own in their stead. Sacrifices to <i>Priamus</i>. Crowns the Tomb of <i>Achilles</i>. Several Cities surrendered to him. He marches forward to the River <i>Granicus</i>, and on May 20, attacks the <i>Perians</i>. Gains the Victory. Honours his <i>Macedonians</i> who fell, with Statues of Bras, and in commemoration thereof, sends three hundred Suits of <i>Perian</i> Armour to <i>Athens</i>, to be hung up in the Temple of <i>Minerva</i> there. <i>Dascylium</i> taken. <i>Sardes</i> delivered up, and a Temple erected to <i>Jupiter Olympius</i>, in the Castle. <i>Ephesus</i> abandon'd by <i>Amynas</i> the Governour, and seized by <i>Alexander</i>, who sacrifices to <i>Diana</i> there. <i>Miletus</i> besieged and taken. <i>Alexander</i> sends the Fleet home. Enters <i>Caria</i>. Besieges <i>Halicarnassus</i>. Attempts <i>Myndus</i> without success. Returns to <i>Halicarnassus</i>, which the <i>Perian</i> Garrison having set fire to,</p> |                      |           |                        |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the build-<br>ing of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls.                   | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.  | Atbenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
| 333                     | 420                                    | T. Veturius<br>Sp. Postba-<br>mius. | <p>retired to two Castles. The City demolished. <i>Alexander</i> then restores the Government of <i>Caria</i> to <i>Ada</i>. Sends the new married Soldiers home, to spend the Winter with their Wives. Dispatches <i>Parmenio</i> with a Party into <i>Pbrygia</i>. Enters <i>Lycia</i>. Causes <i>Aeropus</i>, to be seized for treasonable Practices. Passes into <i>Pamphylia</i>. Takes <i>A-</i><br/><i>spendus</i>. Marches into <i>Pisidia</i>. Seizes on <i>Sides</i> and other Cities. Enters <i>Pbrygia</i>. Takes <i>Sa-</i><br/><i>lagassus</i>. Has <i>Celence</i> delivered to him, and sends Letters to <i>Parmenio</i> to meet him, with his Forces at <i>Gordium</i>.</p> | Nicocrates.          | 4         | 24<br>Reg.<br>3.       |

## BOOK II.

**M**EMNON, the *Rho-*  
*dian*, *Darius*'s Ad-  
miral, designing to re-  
move the Seat of War  
into *Greece*, seizes on  
*Chius*, and several Cities  
in the Island *Lesbos*, but  
dies at the Siege of *Mity-*  
*lene*. *Pharnabazus* and *Au-*  
*tophradates* succeed him.  
*Mitylene* surrendered to  
them. *Thymondas* receives  
the Command of the  
Greek Auxiliaries. *Tene-*  
*das* yielded to the *Per-*  
*sians*. *Proteas* overcomes

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.   | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|--|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                         |  |                   | <p><i>Datames</i> the <i>Perisan</i> at Sea, who escapes, with great Difficulty, to the Fleet. <i>Alexander</i> enters <i>Gordium</i>, where the new married Soldiers, whom he had sent home to winter with their Wives, met him; as also <i>Parmenio</i> with his Party. Thither the <i>Athenians</i> send Embassadors, to request the release of their Citizens, which had been taken Prisoners at the Battle of <i>Granicus</i>, but without effect. He then unties the fatal Knot. Has <i>Paphlagonia</i> delivered to him. Subdues <i>Cappadocia</i>. Passes through the Streights. Enters <i>Cilicia</i>. Hails forward to <i>Tarsus</i>, which had been abandoned by the Governour. Baths himself in the River <i>Cydnus</i>, and contracts a sudden Numbness, which put him in great danger of his Life, till <i>Philip</i> the <i>Acarananian</i> cured him. Then having dispatched <i>Parmenio</i> to take Possession of the Streights which lead into <i>Syria</i>, He marches to <i>Ancialos</i>. Seizes <i>Soli</i>. Subdues the <i>Cilician</i> Mountaineers, and receives Intelligence that <i>Orontobates</i> the <i>Perisan</i> General, who held the Castle of <i>Halicarnassus</i>,</p> |                      |           |                        |

| Years after<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.   | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|------------------------|--|-------------------|--|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                        |  |                   | <p><i>Myndus, Caunus, Theras, and Callipolis, was overthrown by Ptolemy and Alexander. Arrives at Megarsus. Passes on to Mæli, where he receives Advice that Darius, with his whole Army, lay at Sardes. Darius having taken Issus, puts the Macedonian Garrison to the Sword, and hastes to the River Pinarus. Alexander enters the Streights of Issus. The Disposition of both Armies. The Battle of Issus, where Alexander obtain'd a great Victory, the Mother, Wife, and Children of Darius being taken Prisoners; Himself hardly escaping. This Battle was fought in the Month which the Greeks call Maimacterion, whose first Day answered to our October 28, according to Usher, pag. 163.</i></p> <p><i>Darius, thence hastes to Thapsacus, where he crosses the Euphrates, while Alexander marches forward into Syria. Has Aradus delivered to him. Receives Darius's Embassy and Letters, and answers them haughtily. Has News brought him that Parmenio had seiz'd all the royal Treasures at Damascus. Dismisses the Greek Embassadors whom</i></p> |                      |           | Reg.<br>4.             |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls.                          | Memorable Action:<br>and Events.   | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|--|--|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
| 332                     | 421                                    | Anarchia<br>Romæ,<br>abq; Con-<br>sulibus. | <p>he had taken Prisoners.</p> <p>Takes <i>Byblus</i> and <i>Sydon</i></p> <p>Is met by the <i>Tyrians</i>, who deny him entrance into their City; whereupon he resolves to besiege it. He begins a Rampart to join it to the Continent, which is destroyed by the Citizens, but re-built, and the City besieged by Sea and Land. <i>Gerostratus</i>, King of <i>Aradus</i>, and <i>Enyulus</i>, King of <i>Byblus</i>, desert the <i>Persian</i> Interest, and join their Fleet with <i>Alexander's</i>. <i>Tyre</i> is taken after a long Siege, in the Month <i>Hecatombaon</i>, the first Day of which, <i>Uper</i>, pag. 167, says, answers to our <i>July 24</i>.</p> <p><i>Darius</i> then sends other Embassadors with Letters to <i>Alexander</i>, but the Conditions are refused. <i>Gaza</i> besieged, and, after two Months, taken by Storm, the Inhabitants sold, and a new Colony planted therein.</p> | Nicetas.             | cxi.      | 25                     |

### BOOK III.

**A**LEXANDER arrives in *Egypt*, the seventh Day after his departure from *Gaza*, and is received in a friendly Manner at *Pelusium*; which, having garrison'd, he marches first to *Helio-*

Reg.  
5.

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls.                           | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.  | Atbenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|---|---|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
| 331                     | 422                                    | L. Cornelius Cossus<br>Cn. Domitius Calvus. | polis, and thence to <i>Memphis</i> , where having sacrificed, he sails down the River to <i>Canopus</i> , and between the Lake <i>Mareas</i> and the Sea, lays the Foundations of <i>Alexandria</i> . Here he receives News, that <i>Tenedos</i> and <i>Cblos</i> had thrown off the <i>Perfian</i> Yoak, and <i>Pharnabazus</i> and <i>Aristonicus</i> were taken Prisoners, but that <i>Pharnabazus</i> had found means to make his escape; as also, that <i>Mitylene</i> , and all the Towns in the Island <i>Lesbos</i> were recovered. <i>Alexander</i> then <i>Aristophanes</i> . resolves upon a Journey to visit the Temple of <i>Jupiter Hammon</i> , to consult the Oracle there, where, after innumerable Hardships of Heat and Thirst, he arrives; and returning to <i>Memphis</i> , receives the Greek Embassadors kindly. Has a supply of fresh Soldiers sent him from <i>Antipater</i> . Sacrifices to <i>Jupiter</i> and <i>Apis</i> , and settles the Affairs of <i>Egypt</i> . He then returns to <i>Tyre</i> . Sacrifices again to <i>Hercules</i> . Is met by the Embassadors of <i>Atbens</i> , whom he treats kindly, and grants all their Requests. He dispatches <i>Ampboteru</i> in to <i>Peloponnesus</i> , to quell | 2                    | 26        |                        |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls.  | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.  | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |            |
|-------------------------|--|--|---|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|------------|
| 330                     | 123                                    | <i>M. Clau-<br/>dius Mar-<br/>cellus.<br/>C. Valeri-<br/>us Potitus.</i> | <p>the <i>Lacedæmonians</i>. Places <i>Harpalus</i> over the Treasury, and rewards other Exiles. He then marches straight to <i>Thapsacus</i>, where he passes the <i>Euphrates</i>, in the Month <i>Hecatombaon</i>, a compleat Year after the Overthrow of <i>Tyre</i>. He then marches through <i>Mesopotamia</i>, Fords over the <i>Tigris</i>, and hastes forward to meet the Enemy, who, he was informeed, were not far off. A great Eclipse of the Moon then happened on the 25th Day of the Month <i>Boedromion</i>, which answers to our <i>Septem.</i> 20 Eleven Days after which, namely, on <i>October 1.</i> was the fatal Battle of <i>Gaugamela</i>. <i>Darius</i> flees into <i>Media</i>. <i>Alexander</i> marches to <i>Arbela</i>, where he seizes upon all the Treasures and Royal Furniture, lodged there for Safety, and thence marches to <i>Babylon</i>, which was deliver'd up to him. Thence he proceeds to <i>Susa</i> where he seizes an immense Treasure. Thence, passing over the <i>Pasitigris</i>, he subdues the <i>Uxi-<br/>ans</i>, but coming to the <i>Perian</i> Streights, finds them block'd up by <i>Ariobarzanes</i>, but being shewed another Way, he routs the Party and puts</p> | <i>Aristophon</i>    | 3         | 27                     | Reg.<br>6. |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the fall<br>of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.   | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad.  | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|--|----------------------|------------|------------------------|
|                         |                                  |                   | <p>them to flight. He thence marches to <i>Persepolis</i>, takes it, and burns the Royal Palace there. Passes on to <i>Pasargadæ</i>, which is also deliver'd into his Hands.</p> <p><i>Pbrasaortes</i> is then deputed Governor of <i>Perſia</i>, and <i>Alexander</i> having received Advice, that <i>Darius</i> had retired into <i>Media</i>, directs his March thither. Subdues the <i>Paretæ</i>. Enters <i>Media</i>, and arrives at <i>Ecbatana</i>, where he sends home the <i>Theſſalian</i> Cavalry. Thence, moves to <i>Rbages</i>, and thence into <i>Partbia</i>. Enters the <i>Caspian</i> Streights, where hearing that <i>Darius</i> was taken into Custody, and that <i>Bessus</i> had assumed the Stile and Title of Emperor, he marches with the utmost Expedition after him. <i>Darius</i> cruelly wounded by <i>Satibarzanes</i> and <i>Barſaentes</i>, dies before <i>Alexander</i> could come up, and the Murtherers make their escape. The Death of <i>Darius</i> happened in the Month <i>Hecatombæon</i>, a full Year after <i>Alexander</i> had passed the <i>Euphrate</i> at <i>Thapsacus</i>, and just two Years after the destruction of <i>Tyre</i>. <i>Nabarzanes</i>, <i>Pbratapernes</i>, <i>Artaba</i></p> |                      | Reg.<br>7. |                        |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls.                                      | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.   | Atbenian<br>Archons.           | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|--|--|--------------------------------|-----------|------------------------|
| 329                     | 424                                    | L. Papirius,<br>Craffus.<br>L. Plautius<br>Venne.      | zus, and others surrender<br>themselves. Alexander arrives at Zadracarta. Subdues the Mardi. Takes the Lacedæmonian Embassadors. Marches against the Arii, and thence resolves to pursue Bessus into Bætria, but is hindred by the treacherous revolt of Satibarzanes. He marches against the Drangæ. Philotas accus'd of treasonable Practices against his Sovereign: Is slain. And Messengers dispatch'd into Media, to put his Father Parmenio to death. Amyntas and his Brothers seiz'd and acquitted. Alexander divides the Royal Cohort into two Commands. Marches into the Country of the Agriaspæ. Seizes Demetrius one of his Body-Guards, Moves on towards Bætria. Reduces the Drangæ. Aracboti, sus. and Indians bordering upon them, and constitutes Menon their Governor. | Cepbiseph. on.<br>Euthycerius. | 4         | 28<br>Reg. 8.          |
| 328                     | 425                                    | L. Æmilius Mam-<br>mucus.<br>C. Plautius Deci-<br>mus. | Erigyius encounters Satibarzanes, and slays him. Bessus lays all the Country nigh Mount Parapamisus waste, and passing the River Oxus, burns his Boats. However, Alexander having reduced Bætria, and left Artabazus the Persian, their Governor, advances with his Army, to   |                                | cxiii     | 29<br>Reg. 9           |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.   | Atbenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|--|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                         |  |                   | <p>the River <i>Oxus</i>, and passes it. <i>Bessus</i> is seiz'd by his own Party, and delivered up to <i>Alexander</i>, who orders him to be whip'd, and sent into <i>Media</i>, to receive Judgment there. <i>Alexander</i> marches thence to <i>Maracanda</i>, and thence to the River <i>Tanais</i>, or <i>Orxantes</i>, where, advancing against the Natives, he was wounded in the Leg. However he routs them, and returns victorious.</p> |                      |           |                        |

#### BOOK IV.

**A**LEXANDER having receiv'd an Embassy from the *Abian Scythians*, and another from the *European Scythians* (orthole beyond the River *Orxantes*) chooses a place for building a City near the *Tanais*, but is diverted from his Purpose by a Revolt of the *Barbarians*. He invests and takes seven of their Cities. Dispatches forces against *Spitamenes*. Builds the City he had proposed. Denounces War against the *Scythians*. Sacrifices for his safe Passage over the River. His *Augur* threatens him with ill

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the build-<br>ing of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.  | Abenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|---|---------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                         |  |                   | <p>Succes; However he passes safe over it, and vanquishes his Enemies; who then send another Embassy to excuse their Revolt. <i>Spitamenes</i> repulsed by the <i>Macedonian</i> Garrison, in the Castle of <i>Maracanda</i>, and pursued by <i>Pharnuces</i>. The <i>Macedonians</i> beaten by the <i>Scytians</i>. <i>Alexander</i> marches to the Relief of the Castle of <i>Maracanda</i>, again besieg'd by <i>Spitamenes</i>. The Siege raised. He passes on to <i>Zariaspa</i>, where <i>Barzantes</i> and others are delivered up to him. He assumes the <i>Median</i> Habit. Sacrifices to the <i>Dioscuri</i>. Is offended at <i>Clitus</i>, and slays him. repents of his Folly, when too late. Sacrifices to <i>Bacchus</i>. Is comforted by <i>Anaxarchus</i>. <i>Callisthenes</i> his Liberty of Speech and Arrogance. <i>Alexander</i> requires Adoration. <i>Callisthenes</i> not suffered to kiss him. The Conspiracy of the <i>Macedonian</i> Youths against their Sovereign. <i>Epimenes</i> reveals it. The Youths seiz'd. Confess their Guilt, and are ston'd. <i>Callisthenes</i> his Death. The King of <i>Scytia</i> proffers his Daughter in Marriage to <i>Alexander</i>.</p> |                     |           |                        |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls.                                       | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.  | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad.        | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|---|---|----------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| 327                     | 426                                    | P. Plautius Proculus<br>P. Cornelius Scipio<br>Scapula. | The King of the <i>Cborasmeni</i> receiv'd into Friendship. <i>Alexander</i> invades <i>Sogdia</i> . <i>Spitamenes</i> designs to lay Siege to <i>Zariaspa</i> . <i>Aristonicus</i> , and many <i>Macedonians</i> slain. Their Deaths reveng'd by <i>Craterus</i> . <i>Artabazus</i> sues for a Discharge from his Office, by reason of his advanc'd Age. <i>Amyntas</i> , the Son of <i>Nicolaus</i> , appointed to succeed him. <i>Spitamenes</i> surrounded by Enemies, endeavours to force his way out, by attacking <i>Caenus</i> . A great Battle ensues. The <i>Macedonians</i> Victors. <i>Spitamenes</i> his Head sent by the <i>Barbarians</i> as a Present to <i>Alexander</i> , who then lay in Winter-Quarters at <i>Nauata</i> . The King marches to the <i>Sogdian Rock</i> , and resolves to besiege it. Promises a Reward to any who durst scale it. The Rock surrendred. <i>Alexander</i> marries <i>Roxane</i> . <i>Oxyartes</i> , the Father of <i>Roxane</i> , visits him, and is honourably received. The Rock of <i>Chorienes</i> assaulted and surrendred. <i>Chorienes</i> kindly used by <i>Alexander</i> , and restor'd <i>Hegemon</i> . | 2                    | 30<br>Reg.<br>10 |                        |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.   | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|--|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                         |  |                   | <p>taken. <i>Austanes</i> slain. From <i>Baztria</i>, the Spring being now half spent, he undertakes an Expedition into <i>India</i>, and having passed over Mount <i>Caucasus</i> in ten Days, visits the City which he had built before, among the <i>Parapamisans</i>. Appoints <i>Tyriessps</i> their Governor. Marches to <i>Nicæa</i>, and thence to the River <i>Copbenes</i>, where he is met by <i>Taxiles</i> and other Princes, whose Territories lay beyond the River <i>Indus</i>. He then moves against the <i>Aspii</i>, <i>Thyræi</i> and <i>Arfaci</i>, and at the Siege of one of their Cities, receives a Wound in the Shoulder, but takes the City, and demolishes it. Has <i>Andraca</i> surrendered to him. Arrives at the River <i>Euphrates</i>. <i>Ptolemey</i> kills the <i>Indian</i> General. The <i>Barbarians</i> routed. <i>Alexander</i> marches against the <i>Assaceni</i>. Lays Siege to <i>Massaga</i>, their Capital City. Is wounded. The City surrendered on condition, that the mercenary <i>Indians</i> should be set free. They are all put to the Sword. <i>Bazira</i> and <i>Ora</i> surrendered. <i>Aornus</i> view'd. <i>Peucelios</i> taken. The King ar-</p> |                      |           |                        |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the build-<br>ing of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.   | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|--|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                         |  |                   | <p>Arrives at <i>Embolima</i>, and draws his Forces towards the Rock <i>Aornus</i>. <i>Ptolemy</i> gains the Top thereof. <i>Alexander</i> joins him with his Forces. The Rock delivered up. He then directs his March against the <i>Affacani</i>, and arrives at the River <i>Indus</i>.</p> |                      |           |                        |

### Book V.

**A**LEXANDER advances to *Nyssa*. Is met by Deputies from the Citizens, and harangued by *Aulphis*. He views Mount *Meros*, and sacrifices to *Bacchus*. Passes the River *Indus* over a Bridge laid by *Perdiccas* and *Hephæstion*. Arrives at *Taxila*. Is honourably receiv'd by *Taxiles*, the Prince of that Country. Receives an Embassy from King *Abissarus*. Marches forwards to the River *Hydaspes*, where *Porus* lay encamp'd on the further Bank. *Porus* deceiv'd by the Noises in his Camp *Alexander* having found a place in the River, makes ready to pass over. Is favoured in his Passage by a dreadful Storm, for the Guards were retired

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable <i>Actions</i><br>and <i>Events</i> .  | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|--|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                         |  |                   | from the Shore. <i>Porus</i> sends his Son, with a small Party, to encounter them; but his Party is worsted, and his Son slain. The Disposition of both Armies. The Elephants in <i>Porus</i> 's Army being wounded, do much Mischief to Friends as well as Foes. <i>Alexander</i> gains the Victory. <i>Porus</i> taken Prisoner. Is generously used. Has his Kingdom restored him, and much more. This Battle was fought in the Month which the Greeks call <i>Munychion</i> , which <i>Uster</i> , pag. 196. makes to quadrate with our <i>May</i> , and <i>Arrian</i> assures us it was towards the Summer Solstice. <i>Alexander</i> builds a City on each Bank of the River; one where he gained the Battle, the other where his Horse <i>Bucephalus</i> died. He then marches against the <i>Glaucae</i> , and had their whole Country delivered into his Hands, which he bestowed on <i>Porus</i> . <i>Taxiles</i> reconciled to <i>Porus</i> , and sent home. <i>Alexander</i> passes on towards the River <i>Acesines</i> , which having passed. He dismisses <i>Porus</i> , and sends him to his own Kingdom. He then marches |                      |           |                        |

| Years Before<br>Christ. | Years after the build-<br>ing of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.  | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|---|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                         |  |                   | <p>after another <i>Porus</i>, who had fled out of his Territories, and arrives at the River <i>Hydراotes</i>, which he passes, and hearing that the <i>Catuae</i>, and other free Nations, were making Preparations to meet him in Arms, he hastes towards them. Arrives at <i>Sangala</i>. Defeats his Enemy, and forces their Entrenchment. Then besieges their City, surrounds it with a Rampart, and at last takes and demolishes it. He then proceeds to the River <i>Hypbasis</i>, where his Soldiers begin to mutiny, which he endeavours to quell by fine Words. <i>Cænus</i> makes a Speech in answer to that of <i>Alexander</i>, who being enraged thereat, retires into his Tent; but at last fixes the utmost Bounds of his Expedition. Then returning, he repasses the <i>Hydراotes</i>, and comes to the <i>Acesines</i>, where he receives <i>Arsaes</i>, and the Embassadors of <i>Abissares</i> courteously; then passing the <i>Acesines</i>, he arrives at the <i>Hydaspes</i>, and repairs as much of the two new built Cities, as had been damag'd by an Inundation of that River.</p> |                      |           |                        |

| Years before<br>Ch. Chr. | Years after the build-<br>ing of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls.                                 | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.  | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|--------------------------|--|---|---|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
| 326                      | 427                                    | L. Cornelius<br>Lentulus.<br>Q. Publius<br>Pbius. | <p><b>Book VI.</b></p> <p>ALEXANDER makes ready his Fleet, and determines to visit the Ocean. Supposes he has found out the Head of Nilus. Cænus dies. Porus made King over all the Indian Nations, he had yet conquered. The Fleet ordered. He sacrifices to the Gods of the Rivers. The Voyage begun about the time of the rise of the <i>Pleiades</i>, which <i>Pliny</i> fixes to the fourth of November. Craterus and Hephaestion march along each Bank, till they arrive at the Confluence of the <i>Hydaspes</i>, and <i>Acesines</i>, where the Fleet is much shattered. The Damage repair'd. Alexander gives Chremes. fresh Orders, and sails towards the <i>Malli</i>, whom he overcomes, and takes their City. Another taken by <i>Pytho</i>. A City of the <i>Brachmans</i> storm'd. Many of the <i>Malli</i> slain in the Woods. others betake themselves to fortified Places. Alexander besieges their Capital City, and takes it. The Garrison retire to the Castle. He scales the Wall thereof with a Ladder. Is grievously</p> |                      | 3         | 31<br>Reg.<br>11       |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of <i>Rome</i> . | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable <i>Actions</i><br>and <i>Events</i> .  | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br><i>Alexander</i> |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|--|----------------------|-----------|------------------------------|
|                         |  |                   | wounded. The <i>Macedonians</i> breaking in, the Castle is taken, and all therein put to the Sword. The King's Wound dressed, and a Report of his Death being spread abroad, he harts to the <i>Hydraotes</i> , and is joyfully received by his Soldiers. The <i>Malli</i> and <i>Oxydracæ</i> surrender their Country into his Hands, the Government of which he committed to <i>Philip</i> . He then arrives at the Confluence of the <i>Hydraotes</i> and <i>Acesines</i> , and sailing down the <i>Acesines</i> comes to the fall thereof into the River <i>Indus</i> . The <i>Abasiani</i> subdued. The <i>Offadii</i> surrender themselves and Country into his Hands. About this time <i>Oxyartes</i> came to him, on whom he conferred the Goverment of the <i>Parapamisans</i> , <i>Tiryes</i> their former Governor being deposed for Male-administration. He then sails down the River <i>Indus</i> , to the Territories of the <i>Sogdi</i> , where he builds a City, and repairs his Navy, and having made <i>Oxyartes</i> and <i>Python</i> Governors of all the Country, from the Mouth of the River <i>Acesines</i> , to the Sea, as also the Sea-Coast, and |                      |           |                              |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of <i>Rome.</i> | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Action:<br>and Events.   | Atbenian<br>Archons | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|---|-------------------|--|---------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                         |   |                   | <p>ent <i>Craterus</i> with part of his Forces through the Countries of the <i>Araboti</i> and <i>Drangæ</i>. He arrives with the rest, at the Kingdom of <i>Musicanus</i>, who yields himself, and is reinstated in his Dominions. He then invades the Territories of <i>Oxicanus</i>, and wins two of his Cities, in one of which the King himself was taken Prisoner. <i>Sindomana</i> the Capital of King <i>Sambus</i> delivered up. <i>Musicanus</i> attempting to Revolt, is seiz'd, and crucified, and with him all the <i>Brachmans</i>, who had instigated him thereto. <i>Alexander</i> then arrives at <i>Pattala</i>, about the rise of the Dog-Star, and not long after the setting of the <i>Pleiades</i>, when he had been nigh ten Months sailing down the Rivers <i>Hydaspes</i>, <i>Acesines</i>, and <i>Indus</i>. This, <i>Über</i> tells was towards the conclusion of our <i>July</i>. The King of <i>Pattala</i> receiv'd into Friendship, and restor'd to his Government. <i>Craterus</i> dispatch'd with part of the Forces, through <i>Aracofia</i> and <i>Drangiana</i>, and ordered to meet him in <i>Carmania</i>. The <i>Pattalans</i> Revolt. <i>Hephæstion</i> ordered to build a</p> |                     |           |                        |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls.   | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.  | Etruscan<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|---|---|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
| 325                     | 428                                    | C. Petelius<br>Lubo.<br>L. Papirius<br>Mugil<br>,anus Cur<br>for. | Cattle in their Capital<br>City. <i>Alexander</i> desirous<br>to sail down to the<br>Ocean, falls into great<br>danger for want of skil-<br>ful Pilots, and is much<br>embarrassed by the Tide.<br>Arrives at the Island <i>Cil-<br/>lidas</i> , and from thence<br>sails out at the Mouth of<br>the River <i>Indus</i> , to the<br>Sea, and returning to<br><i>Pattala</i> , sails down ano-<br>ther Branch of the same<br>River, to the Sea. Views<br>the Coasts. Then order-<br>ing <i>Nearibus</i> to wait for<br>a convenient Time to set<br>Sail to the Mouths of the<br>Rivers <i>Euphrates</i> and <i>Ti-<br/>gris</i> (which he did on<br>the twentieth Day of the<br>Month <i>Boedromion</i> , which<br>answers to our first of<br><i>October</i> .) He ( <i>Alexan-<br/>der</i> ) departs with his<br>Forces, from <i>Pattala</i> ,<br>and arrives at the River<br><i>Arabius</i> . Invades the<br>Territories of the <i>Orta</i> .<br>Plants a Colony in <i>Ram-<br/>bacia</i> . The <i>Orta</i> sur-<br>render themselves. He<br>then marches forward<br>into the Country of the<br><i>Gadrosi</i> , where his Army<br>truggled with innumer-<br>able Hardships, but at<br>last he arriv'd at <i>Pura</i> ,<br>the capital City. The<br>Reasons which induc'd<br>him to lead his Army<br>through such a barren | Cephiode             | 4         | 32<br>Reg.<br>12.      |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.  | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|---|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                         |  |                   | <p>Country. An account of the Miseries which his Forces underwent in their March through the Deserts of <i>Gadrosia</i>. <i>Thoas</i> succeeds <i>Apollonphanes</i>, and <i>Sibyrtius</i>, <i>Thoas</i>, in the Government of that Country. The King or his Way to <i>Carmania</i>, when he received News that <i>Philip</i>, whom he had deputed Governor over part of <i>India</i>, was slain; whereupon he orders <i>Eudemus</i> and <i>Taxiles</i> to take care of the Administration of Affairs, till he should depute a Successor. <i>Ordones</i> brought Prisoner to <i>Alexander</i> by <i>Craterus</i>. <i>Cleander</i> and <i>Sitalces</i> put to Death for divers Crimes. <i>Heracon</i> escapes Punishment at that time, but afterwards suffers at <i>Susa</i>. <i>Alexander</i> sacrifices to the Gods for the Preservation of his Army. <i>Nearchus</i> relates what he had observ'd in his Voyage, and is ordered to proceed to <i>Susa</i>. The King having dispatched <i>Hephaestion</i> before, into <i>Perfia</i>, marches to <i>Pargadeæ</i>. <i>Orxines</i> having undertaken the Government of <i>Perfia</i>, after the Death of <i>Pherortes</i>, is continued by <i>Alexander</i>. <i>Baryaxes</i>,</p> |                      |           |                        |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.   | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|--|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                         |  |                   | <p>who had set himself up for King of <i>Media</i> and <i>Perſia</i>, brought to him by <i>Atropates</i>, Governor of <i>Media</i>. He and his Associates put to Death. The Sepulchre of <i>Cyrus</i> described. It had been broke open, and plundered, but the King ordered it to be repaired. The Care thereof committed to <i>Aristobulus</i>. The <i>Magi</i>, who were the Keepers thereof, examined concerning the Robbery, but acquitted. <i>Orxines</i> convicted of fundry Crimes, and put to Death. <i>Peuceſtas</i> deputed to succeed him.</p> |                      |           |                        |

### Book VII.

**A**LEXANDER's vast Designs. His Mind insatiable. He is reproved by the *Indian* Sages, as he had been before by *Diogenes* the *Cynick*. He has an Ambition of carrying one of the *Indian Gymnosopists* along with him. *Dandamis* opposes him. *Calanus* consents to accompany him. An Account of his burning himself alive afterwards, in *Perſia*. *Atropates* sent back to his Government. *Abulites*, with his Son *Oxatres*, put to Death, at the King's re-

| Years before<br>Christ. | Years after the found-<br>ing of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.   | Atbenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|--|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                         |  |                   | <p>turn to <i>Susa</i>. The Nuptials of <i>Alexander</i>, and his Friends royally solemniz'd after the <i>Perfian</i> Manner. The Number of those who espoused <i>Barbarian</i> Women. He discharges all the Debts contracted by his whole Army. Bestows Crowns of Gold on <i>Peucestas</i>, <i>Leonnatus</i>, and others, as Rewards for signal Services. Receives thirty thousand Youths, which gave great disgust to his old Soldiers. Other Causes of their Complaints. The King sails down the River <i>Eulaeus</i> into the <i>Perfian</i> Gulph, and thence entring the <i>Tygris</i>, passes up to his Camp, from whence he marches to <i>Opis</i>, where he dismisses part of his Forces, whereupon the rest mutiny, and demand a Release. The King, grievously enraged, hales thirteen of the Ringleaders of this Sedition away to immediate Execution, and upbraids the rest in a Speech, with the extraordinary Obligations they lay under to his Father <i>Philip</i>, and himself. He then causes all the Offices, round his Person to be supply'd by <i>Perfians</i>. This so</p> |                      |           |                        |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls.                                   | Memorable Action:<br>and Events.  | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |  |
|-------------------------|--|---|---|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|--|
| 324                     | 429                                    | L. Furius<br>Camillus<br>Junius<br>Brutus<br>Scæta. | humbles the <i>Macedonians</i> .<br>that they come in a sup-<br>pliant manner, and stand<br>before the Gates of hi<br>Pallace, and at last ob-<br>tain the Favour to be<br>call'd the King's Kindred<br>as well as the <i>Perians</i> .<br>Part of the Forces sen-<br>home under the Conduc-<br>of <i>Craterus</i> . <i>Craterus</i><br>deputed Governour o<br><i>Macedonia</i> , <i>Thrace</i> and<br><i>Thessaly</i> , instead of <i>An-<br/>tipater</i> , who was ordered<br>to raise Recruits, and at-<br>tend <i>Alexander</i> in <i>Asia</i> .<br>About this time <i>Harpa-<br/>lus</i> having wasted the<br>Royal Treasure, plun-<br>dered the Treasury of six<br>Thousand Talents, and<br>made his escape to <i>Athena</i> ,<br>and thence failed into<br><i>Crete</i> , where he was<br>seiz'd and slain by one<br>of his Followers. Sundry<br>Quarrels between <i>He-<br/>pbæstion</i> and <i>Eumenes</i> .<br>They are reconcil'd. The<br>Army then marches to-<br>wards <i>Ecbatana</i> . Arrive-<br>at the <i>Nysæan</i> Fields.<br>Warlike Women pre-<br>sented to the King by<br><i>Atropates</i> , who were re-<br>ported to be <i>Amazons</i> .<br><i>Alexander</i> arrives at <i>Ec-<br/>batana</i> with his Forces.<br><i>Hepbæstion</i> dies; whereat<br>the King grieves immo-<br>derately. He invade-<br>the <i>Cossæans</i> , and sub- | Legeſias.            | CXV.      | 33d<br>Reg.<br>13.     |  |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.  | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|---|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                         |  |                   | <p>dues them. Is met by the Embassadors of sundry Nations, in his Way to <i>Babylon</i>. The Romans none of the Number. Dispatches <i>Heraclides</i> with divers Ship-Carpenters, into <i>Hyrcania</i>, to cut down Wood for Shipping there. Is dissuaded by the <i>Chaldeans</i> from entring into <i>Babylon</i>, but suspecting their Interest to be the reason of their Advice, he rejects it. <i>Pythagoras</i>, a noted <i>Augur</i>, is said to have foretold the Death of <i>Herpætion</i>, and also of <i>Alexander</i>. <i>Calanus</i> had foretold the King's Death before. <i>Alexander</i> at his entrance into <i>Babylon</i>, gives the <i>Greek</i> Embassadors a kind Reception, and dismisses them. Prepares to set out a Fleet against the <i>Arabians</i>. Makes a Haven at <i>Babylon</i>. The <i>Arabians</i> worshipped <i>Cælum</i> and <i>Bacchus</i>, and <i>Alexander</i> resolves to wage War against them, to oblige them to worship him too. Dispatches <i>Archias</i>, and then <i>Androsthenes</i>, and last of all <i>Hieron</i> of <i>Soli</i>, to sail round their Coast, and bring him an account thereof, but they all return without effecting their Purpose. He fails         </p> |                      |           |                        |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.  | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|---|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                         |  |                   | <p>down the <i>Euphrates</i> to <i>Palacopas</i>, eight hundred <i>Stadia</i> from <i>Babylon</i>. Whence, he proceeded into <i>Arabia</i>, where having built a City, he peopled it with a Colony of <i>Greeks</i>. At his return the royal <i>Tiara</i>, was blown off his Head into the Water, but taken up and presented to him again by an expert Swimmer. He returns to <i>Babylon</i>. Finds his Forces augmented. Exercises his Seamen. Orders <i>Hebaetion</i> to be worshipped as a <i>Hero</i>, by the Advice of <i>Jupiter Hammon</i>, and Temples to be built to him in <i>Egypt</i>. The King's last Entertainment. He falls sick of a Fever on the eighteenth Day of the Month <i>Dæsius</i>, which answers to our <i>May</i> 12th, and died on the 28th of the same Month, or <i>May</i> 22d, according to <i>Usher</i>. Tho' <i>Aristobulus</i> places his Death on <i>May</i> 24. <i>Ælian</i> on <i>May</i> 18. And <i>Petavius</i> on <i>July</i> 19. If we take <i>Usher</i>'s Account, who is the last of these Chronologers, (and seems to me to be the most exact) <i>Alexander</i> reigned twelve Years and eight Months, according to <i>Arrian's</i> Account. Divers Opinions concern-</p> |                      |           |                        |

| Years before<br>CHRIST. | Years after the buil-<br>ding of Rome. | Roman<br>Consuls. | Memorable Actions<br>and Events.  | Athenian<br>Archons. | Olympiad. | Years of<br>Alexander. |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|---|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
|                         |  |                   | ing the Cause of his<br>Death. His extraordi-<br>nary Endowments. His<br>Vices. Why he began<br>to affect his Divine Ori-<br>ginal, and chang'd his<br><i>Macedonian Habit.</i> Why<br>he delighted so much in<br>Entertainments. |                      |           |                        |



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In the History. Page 15. Line 3. for altogether, read together.  
62. l. 27. for parts Lybia, read parts of Lybia.  
139. l. 21. for say, read any.  
273. l. 7. for Tlepolemus was, r. Tlepolemus who was.

In the Notes. Page 8. Line 6. for before, read be for.  
40. l. ult. for anyf, read any of.  
70. l. 20. for be believes, read I believe.  
126. l. 11. for Arach, read Arachaea  
161. l. 11. for satisfy, read supply.  
185. l. 7. for makes, read make.  
187. l. 2. for and accordingly, read and have accordingly.  
221. l. 16. for λεξάπλεψη, r. ἐξάπλεψη.  
259. l. 13. for 900, read 600.



